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Caius Crispus
SALLUSTIUS
THE
HISTORIAN
MADE ENGLISH.

To which are prefix'd
The Life and Character of the AUTHOR
and His WORKS.

By *JOHN ROWE, Esq;*

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THE
LIFE and Character
OF
SALLUST
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Caius Crispus Sallustius the Historian was Born at [†] Amiternum in the Countrey of the Sabines (said to be Now Sancto Vittorino in the Part of Italy Call'd *La Sabina*) ^{*} in the Year Six hundred and Sixty Eight from the Founding of *Rome*, being the very same wherein according to the *Roman Annals* and the Account of a Certain Anonymous Author *Athens* was Taken and Sack'd by *Sylla*. He Descended from the Noble Family of the *Sallustij*, which had for a long Series of Years born a Port in

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the Second Order or Degree of Quality in the Republick. He had his Education in *Rome*, the most Illustrious and Celebrated City Then in the World for Empire and Arts. And Finding his Genius not to lye to Arms or Horses, or the Exercises of Hunting, but the more Refined Labours of the Brain, He Apply'd himself to the Pursuit of Learning; Not of the Chaffy or Worthless Part of it, which is Chiefly Employ'd about Words, or perhaps Matters as Insignificant, but of That which Affords the Knowledge of Things, and Qualifies a Man for the Service of his Countrey, Or at least for Instructing Others to Serve it. He Consider'd the Nature of Human Society, the Foundations of Government with its several Forms, and the Various Fates of Empires and Nations. He Examin'd into Their Conduct and Manners, and the Causes of Their Greatness, and Then of Their Decay. Study'd particularly the Affairs of the *Remans*; Survey'd Their Men, Money, and Arms; Made an Estimate of Their Real Strength; and Took an Account of Their Ancient Virtue; Of the Vast Atchievements of the Commonwealth, and to what a sort of Discipline They were Owing; And then of the Corruptions that Crept into it, with Their Rise, and the Sad Effects They produc'd. In a Word, He did not think it Enough to be Book-Learned, but He Read Men. This was Going to the Bottom of Things, and the Way to Acquire True Prudence. The Fruit of which may be

Seen

Seen in the Wise and Solid Reflections that Appear in his Writings, In the Lively Pictures He hath Made of Men, and in the Admirable Lessons of Politicks He hath given us. Our Author was Led as well by his Judgment as his Inclination to the Business of History, as One of the Greatest and most Useful Performances that the Wit of Man is Capable of. And as in the Course of his Education He had for his Præceptor, among Others, *Ateius Prætextatus*, Entitled *Philologus*, One of the most Famous Grammarians of the Age: The same † *Ateius* on his Designing a History Furnish'd him with an Abstract of the Actions of the *Romans*, To make his Choice of which He wou'd Write. There is Reason to Believe He had Laid the Foundation of his Historical Works in his Earlier Years, but that He was Interrupted from Prosecuting it by the Occupations of a Publick Employment. For being seiz'd by the Disease of Ambition, as He very Frankly Intimates Himself, He wou'd needs have a Post in the Government. It ought to be Noted that the Manners of the *Romans* were at That time extremely Degenerated. The *Agrarian* and Sumptuary Laws had been Despis'd; And Profuseness and Avarice were almost Universal: Which tho' to Appearance quite Inconsistent, Yet Reign'd in the same Persons by Turns, and

† Suetonius de Illustribus Grammaticis.

supported and gave Birth to Each Other. All were for making their Own Fortunes, whatever became of the Commonwealth ; And Every One was for Raking to Himself all that He Cou'd Get, and as Lavishly Spending it : And as This quickly brought 'em into Want, so it made Them again Rapacious for More. Little or no Distinction was made between a Man of Merit and a Rascal. They who had most Money were Caress'd ; and Riches was Virtue , Reputation, and Every Thing. Now *Sallust* Coming into Employment in so Corrrupt an Age, and being Young, It will be the less wondred at that He suffer'd Himself to be Overcome. 'Twas E-nough perhaps to Batter down a Severer Virtue than Our Author Could Boast of, Who yet professes that He did in his Heart Abominate the Vices that He saw Practis'd. But the Tide a-gainst Him was so strong that All the Great and Magnanimous Notions He had been possess'd with of the Virtue and Discipline of the Ancient *Romans* Became Languid in Him. In short, He was born away by the Torrent, and Plung'd into the Common Corruption. † We are Told He was made a Tribune of the People in the Year that *Clodius* was Kill'd by *Milo*, Computed to be about the Seven hundred and Second from the Founding the City, and the same Time that *Cn. Pompey* the Great was for several Months

† Gerard Vossius de *Historicis Latinis*.

Consul

Consul Alone without any Collegue. In This Tribuneship, wherein by the way 'tis said that He Got no Reputation, He Acted with great Fiercenes against *Milo*, To Revenge the Treatment Receiv'd from him on the Score of *Fausta* the Daughter of *Sylla*; With whom having, according to the Testimony of *Varro* and *Gellius*, been Taken in Adultery, *Milo* as Tribune at that Juncture had Caus'd our Author to be Whipp'd and Fin'd. Moreover the Invective Ascrib'd to *Cicero*, which was probably written as high up as the Age of *Augustus*, or at least of *Tiberius*, with several other † Authors, Relate that in the Year Seven hundred and Three or Four He was Expell'd the Senate by the Then Censors *Appius Claudius* and *Calpurnius Piso* upon Account of his Fornications and Adulteries. ‡ *Suetonius* also acquaints us that *Lenæus* a Grammian and Freed-Man of *Pompey*'s Lash'd him very severely in Lampoons Calling him Whore-Master, Glutton, Debauchee, and a Monster of Repugnances in his Life and Writings. And the foremention'd Invective Charges him with the Selling his Patrimony in the Life-time of his Father; With his having been twice Try'd for Crimes, whereby He was brought into the last Jeopardy, and from whence He Escap'd not by his own Innocence, but his Judges suffering Themselves to be Forsworn; With his having

† *Pedianus, Gellius, Servius, Horatij Interpretæ.*

‡ *Suetonius de Illustribus Grammaticis.*

the Impudence in Open Senate to Acknowledge himself Guilty of Adultery ; and in fine, with several other Enormities , wherewith I forbear to Defile the Paper. After his Expulsion out of the Senate and during his Recess from Publick Affairs He Apply'd himself to the Prosecution of his former Design of Compiling History. † But sometime after upon *Julius Cæsar's* Coming to be at the Head of Affairs Our Author was not only Restor'd to his Dignity of Senator , but was made Quæstor. In which Office the aforesaid Invective proceeds to Accuse him of great Corruption, of making Sale of Every Thing that He Cou'd in't , of Using it only as an Occasion for Plunder , and of bringing the very Post into Disgrace. However He was afterwards made Prætor, I suppose by the like Promotion of *Cæsar's* ; In which Employment, as we have it from *Hirtius* in the beginning of his History of the *African War* , *Cæsar* sent him with a Squadron of his Fleet against the Island of *Cercina*, Then in possession of his Enemies, Upon Intelligence there was a great Quantity of Corn in't. Moreover * *Dio* has another Passage concerning his Prætorship to this purpose, That the Forces of *Cæsar* which lay in *Campania* and were Design'd for *Africa* happ'ning to Mutiny, and the Prætor *Sallust* parting for *Rome* to give

† *Gerard Vossius & Petrus Crinitus* in *Libr. supra Citatis.*

* *Dio* in *Libr. 42.*

him an Account of it, He was very near being Knock'd in the Head by some of the Soldiers, who pursu'd him, and who put to the Sword Two Senators, and Spar'd None that fell into their Hands. * The same Author relates that *Cæsar* bestow'd on him also the Government of *Numidia*. And here again the Invective I quoted falls upon him for his Covetousness and Rapine, Intimating that He Treated it, Not like a Province, but an Enemy's Country, by his Pollings and Exactions. That He scrap'd together All that He Cou'd Get, and Brought it off for his own Use. By This means He became so Rich, that He \dagger Purchas'd a Market-Place on the *Quirinal* Hill (Upon which according to *Gerard Vossius* the Church of *Santa Susanna* now stands) with the Fine Gardens that to This Day are Call'd the *Sallustian*, and the Vill of * *Tiburtum*. The Depredation was Forgiven him by *Cæsar*, tho' it's said there was * a Peace-Offering of Money for't. I suppose the Reader will take notice that the Blackest Things that are said of our Author stand mostly on the Credit of *Lenæus* and the Declamation They have Father'd upon *Cicero*, Of whom I conceive there may be some Question whether They

* Dio in Lib. 43.

\dagger Gerard Vossius in Lib. supra, &c.

* Petrus Crinitus in Lib. supra, &c. Et Declamatio in *Sallustium Ciceroni Tributa*.

ought to be Entirely Rely'd on, after Considering that as to the Invective, 'Twas an Answer to One Attributed to *Sallust*; that there was ill Blood between Him and *Tully*; and that the Declaimers (whoever They were) on Neither side had regard to Decency, but seem to have made it Their chief Contention which shou'd say the worst of the Other. And as to *Lenæus*, He was a Creature of *Pompey's*, of whom *Sallust* had spoken reproachfully; And how Cou'd the Grammian make his Court to his Master better than by Recriminating on the Speaker? Upon which, whether They might not be led to Aggravate some Matters against Him I shall leave to Others to make a Conjecture. * For such of his Friends who had Reputation for Wit and Learning He was Intimate with *Messala*, *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Nigidius Figulus*. But *Cæsar* above All was the Person that had a peculiar Kindness for *Sallust*, who again was a great Admirer of the Other, Regarding him as an Extraordinary Man, as appears by what He has said Himself, and by the Character He hath drawn of him in *Catiline's* Conspiracy. And yet He seems to have been of a Genius in many respects Opposite to *Cæsar's*; To have Different Notions of Government and of Glory; and to give the Preference Tacitly to *Cato*. And here after having Expos'd so Freely as above

* Petr. Crinitus in Lib. supra, &c.

the Miscarriages of *Sallust*, I am bound in Justice to lay hold on any Opportunity of Serving his Fame; which I think may be done by taking some Notice of his Two Epistles written to *Cæsar* concerning the Modelling of the Republick; Wherein He so gloriously pleads the Cause of his Countrey with a Man of Ambition and a Conqueror; Speaks of the Unhappiness of Tyrannical Government to the Prince Himself as well as to the People; Lashes the Barbarities of *Sylla* and Others, who had once been Masters of the Commonwealth; Exhorts him to Moderation and Clemency, and to Use his Advantages for the Good of the Empire; Frankly Avows to One who was suspected to be of the Party of *Epicurus* that there is a Divine Providence over All, and that Anguish and Punishments will attend upon Tyranny; Points out the Path to True Glory, and presses him to Restore the Publick Liberty, and (for a Demonstration that our Author was in Earnest) to Heal all the Divisions of the Citizens, and to Reform their Manners, that They might be Capable of Liberty. Is there any Thing now in the Whole World Can be more Gallant and Honest than This? Cou'd any Thing be more Great and Meritorious? Is This the Common Way of Addressing Such as have render'd Themselves Masters? Was *Agrippa* a better Counsellor to *Augustus*? Or are Conquerors wont to be so Advis'd? In short, in spite of all the Corruptions that shaded the Rest of the Life of

Sallust,

Sallust, He will have a Lustre and be Valu'd by Posterity for the Bravery of his Conduct upon This Occasion. * He Marry'd *Terentia* the Wife of *Cicero*, after her being Divorc'd from the Latter; which whether it gave Birth to the Feud that there was between Him and the Orator, or was Subsequent to it, as I rather think, and possibly increas'd, it remains Uncertain. But as to his Death, * We are told it happen'd some few Years after that of *Cæsar*, and that He Arriv'd to Threescore and two, and departed this Life in his own Countrey.

Upon the whole, He seems to have been a Person Addicted at once to Learning and to Pleasure; Of the most Exalted Sentiments of Virtue for the Theory-Part, but as Impotent in the Practick; To have had the Corrupt Inclinations of his Will too strong for the Light of his Mind; Unable to forbear Condemning in Others the Misdemeanors He fell into Himself; An Admirer of the Bravery of the Ancient *Romans*, but an Yielder to all the Debaucheries of the Modern; In the Interim, A Lover of Li-berty and his Countrey, A Generous Pleader of its Cause with a Victor; and in fine, A Mif-cellany of Vice and of Virtue.

* Petrus Crinitus in Lib. supra, &c.

This for his Morals ; I now proceed to give an Account of the Productions of his Wit, which may make some Amends to his Fame for what it shall suffer through the Faults of the Former. And here I wou'd first Observe that our Author wou'd certainly have stood in a much Fairer and more Advantageous Light with Posterity, if All his Works or at least so much of 'em as wou'd make up Something of a Body of History had Descended Entire to Our Times. For besides what I have now Translated He undoubtedly wrote several other and larger Histories, tho' They have not Come down to Us. And since He Related the War with *Jugurtha*, an Affair with which He was not Cotemporary, who can Believe that He Let alone the Transactions that pass'd in his Own Time ? As the Contest between *Marius* and *Sylla* on account of the *Mithridatick War* ; The Death of the Former, as also of *Octavius* ; The *African* Victories of *Pompey the Great* ; The Usurpation and Tyranny of *Sylla* ; *Metellus* and *Pompey's* Expedition into *Spain* ; The Issue of *Sertorius's* Efforts, and his Death ; The Insurrection of the Gladiators ; The Restoration of the Tribuneship to the People ; The Destruction of the Pyrates and the Conquest of *Syria* ; With a great many other Things that Occurr'd from the Birth of Our Author to the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, which Contain'd the Space of Twenty five Years. Moreover the Interval from That

Period

Period to his Death was as thick Planted with Action: Such as the Triumph of *Pompey* the Great; *Cicero's* Banishment, and his Tragical Death; The *Gaulish* War; The Killing of *Clodius*; The Subverting the Liberty of the Commonwealth; The Expedition that was made into *Africa*; And the Stabbing of *Julius Cæsar* in the Senate-House. * Of all which and of Other Occurrences He is Thought with Reason to have written the Histories. But it is, as One has wittily Observ'd on a like Occasion, but a Poor Consolation to a Merchant to Peruse his Bill of Freight after He is Sure that the Ship is Lost. We have Only the Fragments of Some of 'em Extant; The Body being Unhappily Perish'd through, either, the Common Misfortune that Prey'd on so great a Part of the Ancient Learning, I mean the Devastations that were made in the *Roman* Empire by the Barbarous Nations; Or else through the Envy (as some have suppos'd) of Those who were Friends to *Cicero* or *Livy*; The Latter of whom has been set up as a Rival with *Sallust* in the Business of History. Upon which Account there has been a Suspicion that there were not wanting Endeavours to suppress as far as was possible the Products of his Wit, tho' not the Misdemeanors of his Life. However it was, The Fragments that We Have Resemble the Ruins of an Ancient

* Vid. Qu. *Estiugium.*

Building that has here and there a Pillar or a Portico of Masterly Workmanship yet standing, To Assure Every One that Surveys 'em, There was Once a most Magnificent Pile. And without Detracting from *Tacitus* or *Livy* I will Venture to say that Those Great Authors wou'd have made a less Eclat in the World had *Sallust* Come down to us more Entire. But 'twill still be Remember'd by Good Judges that in these Matters 'tis not the Bulk, but the Wit and Judgment that makes the Merit. Nor will Any of Taste among the Moderns ever Disturb his Enjoyment of the Place Allow'd him by the best Criticks of Antiquity, who put him at the Head of the *Roman* Historians. But to do further Right to his Abilities it will not be thought Impertinent if I Enter so far into the Nature of History and the Qualifications of a Just Historian as to say That History is an Orderly Narration of Things True, Publick, and Great, written with Judgment, Eloquence, and Spirit for the Instruction and Benefit of Mankind; That the Matter it Works upon is the High and Important Transactions of States and Kingdoms; That its End is to Form Princes, Ambassadors, Ministers of State, and Illustrious Captains; To Qualify for the Service of Publick Societies; To Eternize the Gallantry of Heroes; and to Kindle a Jealousy and Emulation of Their Glory; That to This purpose there ought to be Employ'd All the Efforts of Eloquence and of Wit; That the Historian shou'd be of No Coun-

Countrey, but a Citizen of the World, Disvested of Prejudices, and Dispos'd to Render Exact Justice to All Nations and Parties of Men; That He ought to have Nothing Trifling or Superfluous, Nothing but what is Noble and of Consequence; That He shou'd have a sort of Unbounded Wit to Comprehend the Nature of Things; To Explain Councils, Unravel Intrigues, and Disintangle the Intricacies of Affairs; To Dissect the Nature of Mankind, and Unfold their Spirits and the Springs of their Actions; That He ought to have, as an Inward Riches, so an Eloquence to bring 'em out into View; In a Word, All the Address of an Orator, With the Elevation and Heat of a Poet. I am very sensible that the Reader will think there is either too much Requir'd in This, Or that 'tis not All of it Applicable to *Sallust*. 'Twill be said He has not been Just to *Cicero* in not only Omitting his Character, but also in passing over in Silence Matters of Fact that wou'd have Made for his Glory, tho' in his Account of *Catiline's* Conspiracy He had a fair Opportunity of Mentioning Several: Such as the Publick Thanks of the Senate Given him for his Conduct in Defeating the Plot; The Calling him Father and Deliverer of his Countrey, and Declaring He Merited the Civick Crown; The Setting up of a Gilt Statue in Honour to him at *Capua*, and Adopting him for Their Patron. But the Reader perhaps will be better satisfy'd after

being

being Minded that the Orator had been Careful to Preserve the Memory of Them Himself † in Terms sufficiently Pompous and Magnificent ; And what Necessity then was there for Relating 'em over again in History ? Besides 'tis very possible our Author might not look upon These Particulars as so very Important after he had Spoken of the Principal Matter, *The Management* of the Consul. And as to the Not Inserting his Character, it might not be such a Disadvantage to him as some People may be apt to Imagine. Had He made his Picture, with what Justice, after the Touching his Great Qualities, Cou'd He ever have Baulk'd the Letting us know that with all his Virtues He was Excessively Vain : That He Lov'd Incense to such a Degree as to Offer it to Himself upon All Occasions : That He was of a Spirit too Low and Timerous to Bear up against the Power of Tyrants : That, in fine, on the Loss of the *Roman* Liberty He was little better than a Temporizer ? But the Criticks will go on to Object that the Prefaces of *Sallust* have not only little or no Relation to the Pieces to which He has prefix'd 'em, but are also too Long ; That the same Prolixity may be given in Charge against even his Fine Deduction in *Catiline's* Conspiracy of the Manners of the *Romans* : As likewise against some of his Harangues ; That He

† Cicero in 3. *Investiga in Catilinam.* Idem in *Pysonem.*
In *Epistol. ad Atticum*, & in *Oratione pro P. Sestio.*

Plunder'd the Antiquities of *Cato* for Words, and Affected to Innovate in Stile and Diction; † And the most Ingenious Father *Le Moyne* has Complain'd of his making *Memmius* Harangue it upon no other Account than because He was One of the Best Speakers of his Time. As to his Prefaces, I have nothing to Say for 'em, Only that I look upon it to have been the Fault rather of his Will than his Judgment: and with the Father I mention'd Believe 'em the Remains of his Oratorian or Declaiming Performances: Which rather than lose He wou'd Place Here, how ill a Figure soever They might make. His Old Words I shall also Leave to Stand or Fall at the Mercy of the Reader. Nor will I wholly Vindicate the Length of some of his Orations, tho' methinks They're Such, We Can hardly Retrench 'em without Regret, any more than his Account of the *Roman Manners*. But then as to the Speech of *Memmius*, I Cannot see that the Censure shou'd be Countenanc'd. For tho' the Historian indeed says That He wou'd in regard of the Eloquence of *Memmius*'s being in mighty Repute at *Rome* Rehearse One of the many Orations He deliver'd to the People, Yet He singles out That, which He made upon *Besṭia*'s Return from *Numidia*: Where He had Patch'd up an Infamous Peace of his Own Head and for Money with *Jugurtha*; A Transaction,

† *Le Art d'crire & juger de l'histoire &c.*

which

which tho' generally Resented, was Endeavour'd to be Palliated by some Great Men. Now it was to Expose the Practices of Those that our Author Accommodates the Tribune with his Eloquence, in a Speech that Enlightens the Business He was upon, and Helps us to Conceive of Matters more Clearly. And how This Can be Deem'd Impertinence I am at an utter Loss to Discover. These I think are the Principal Censures that the Labours of *Sallust* have Under-gone. And after all He will keep his Ground, and Continue of the very Foremost of the Order. His Subject is Great and Important Matters Sifted from Every Thing Trivial or of Levity. He seems (at least for the most part) to have been a Disinteress'd and Impartial Writer ; To be Attach'd to no Particular Party ; To be Free from the Influence of Hope and of Fear ; To have made Truth his Favourite and Care ; and To have Aim'd at Certainty, if possible, in all Things. Insomuch that as for the *Punick* Affairs, We are Told † that He not only Examin'd the Memoirs and Writings of Those Countries, but Visited many Places in Person, To Avoid Mistakes in his Accounts and Descriptions. But 'tis not Enough for Historians to Produce Bare Truth, how Important soever. She must also have Handsome and Becoming Cloaths : And the Warmth and Lights of Eloquence

† Vide Petrarcham &c.

must Attend Her. Our Author is Admirable in This Particular ; And His Structure is Animated and Enliven'd Throughout. There is Life, there is Spirit, there is Energy in his Work ; And His Diction is of the Character of Poesy : Wherein He has all the most Glowing Colours, tho' without Any Thing Flaring or Improper. *Pontin* has made an Agreeable Parallel of the Figures and Manner of Speech in *Sallust* and some Others with the Like in *Virgil* : and shewn that the Latter in many Instances is not more a Poet than the Former. We are, almost, Present at his Battels and Sieges, The Descriptions have such a Life and Vivacity. And We are secretly Drawn to Interest our selves in the Events of his Actions and Successes of his Persons. I may not Omit to Speak of His Lively and most Instructive Portraitures of *Men*. He Enters into the Bottom of Their Nature : Explores the Labyrinths and Recesses of their Souls : and with a sort of Anatomy Lays Open All the Folds and Doublings of their Spirits. In which Performance, and particularly in the Character Drawn of *Catiline*, He hath let us see, There are Qualities to be found in the Mind of Man that may look at first sight Inconsistent, Yet are not so, but may Reign Alternately, if not Together, in the same Persons. And lastly, His Draughts are of That Kind, that if They Go before the Narration They Prepare Us for it, and Raise in our Minds an Expectation, which

He

He never Disappoints, that Such and Such Facts will Ensue: But whereever He thinks fit to Dispose 'em, He still Agrees 'em with the Actions of the Persons. And as His Images of *Men* are Excelling, his Reflections on *Things* are as Just and Solid. He had a Genius Capable of Comprehending and Taking the Height of the Greatest Matters: And He passes such Judgments upon 'em, as seem to proceed from a Finish'd Wisdom. I shou'd also Mention the Sententiousness of *Sallust*, wherein there is as Much of Poignancy as of Weight. But I pass it, and Take Leave to proceed to the View of his Stile in other Respects. I have said before, It Approaches the Poetick: And Here let me take some Notice of its Brevity. There's a Certain Frugality, a Continence in his Language that He has Outdone *Thucydides* Himself in. And One of the Topicks that *Tacitus* is Prais'd from is his Imitating *Sallust* in This Perfection: Of Which None Can be ever Capable, That is not of an Accurate and Consummate Judgment, Nor without a sort of Temperance of the Mind and Command over a Man's Spirit. For with all his Thrift and Parsimony of Expression there's a Rich and Sufficient Expence of Matter; And 'twas the Talent of our Accomplish'd Historian, tho' of very Few Others beside Him, To Come up to his Remark upon *Cato Of Dispatching Much in a Few Words*. Nor does his Conciseness at all lye in making the Garment too Scanty for the Body. 'Twas

not

not with th' Ideas of his Mind only He was Able to Measure the Greatest Things, He hath also Cloath'd 'em with a Stile and Expression fully Adequate and Proportion'd to Their Nature ; and has made at once his Thoughts and his Diction Accord in Grandeur with the Dignity of his Subject. This is the *Facta Dictis Exæquenda* which *Sallust* Himself has taken Notice of as One of the Trying Difficulties of History. And it was perhaps for This that St. *Augustine* Entitled him * *An Historian of Dignify'd Truth*. To Conclude, He never Becomes Tedious, nor Gives Us a Satiety, but We Rise from him with an Appetite.

The Reader will Excuse me from speaking any thing concerning the Translation We are now Coming to. For beside the Vanity, that is hard to shun in giving an Account of One's Own Performances, I have made him Attend me too long already to Receive a Critique on the Original Author. I will only say that 'tis not so Easy as some People may be apt to Fancy it To Transfuse such an Author as *Sallust* into the Mold of the *British* Language without Losing any Thing of his Spirit. And how far I have Succeeded herein must be left to Every Body's Judgment but My Own.

JOHN ROWE

* *Sallustius Nobilitatæ Veritatis Historicus.* *Augustinus de Civitate Dei*, Lib. 1. Cap. 5.

THE

I

T H E
H I S T O R Y
O F
Caius Crispus Sallustius :
Containing an Account of
Catiline's Conspiracy.

ALL They who have any Emulation to excel the Rank of Inferior Creatures, ought to make it Their principal Care not to pass away their Lives in Obscurity or Silence, like Those of Beasts, that are dispos'd by Nature to grovel on the Earth, and be Slaves to their Bellies. For the Advantages of Man are of a double kind, and the Soul has Faculties as well as the Body. In truth, the Endowments of This Last are but Those of a Servant, that ought to attend on the former as its Sovereign. And the One gives us a Participation of the Divine Nature, as the Other of the Brutal. Wherefore, I think the Acquisition of Glory by the Forces of the Mind to be a Nobler Way than by the Abilities of the Body. And 'tis a Glorious Reprisal to Compensate the Shortness of These Lives of
B Our's,

Our's, by rendring Our Memories as lasting as We Can. For the Splendor of Beauty and Magnificence of Riches are Things Transitory and very Uncertain ; but Virtue is sure to be Immortal and Everlasting. 'Tis very true, 'twas a long Dispute among Mankind in the Days of old, Whether Strength of Body or Abilities of Mind did most influence the Successes of War? Forasmuch as Counsel and Contrivance is necessary before any Enterprize proceeds to Action: And after a Design is well laid, a Vigorous Execution is as necessary too. And so Neither is sufficient of it self, but the One seems to stand in need of the Concurrence of the Other, in Order to Success. Therefore among the several Kings (the first Title of Empire that was known) who reign'd in the primitive Ages of the World, Some Chose to Cultivate their Minds, and Others to exercise and improve their Bodies. This was before the Ambition of Men Came to disturb the Peace of the Universe, and when Every One was Contented with his Own. But after *Cyrus* began to make Conquests in *Asia*, and the *Lacedæmonians* and *Athenians* in *Greece*: When Lust of Empire Came to be reputed a Good Cause for taking up of Arms, and Glory was measur'd by Extent of Dominion, 'twas soon found by Action and Perils that Policy was of greater Avail in War than Strength. And as to the Times of Peace it self, if Kings and Emperors did but exert as much Virtue of Mind in it as in Arms, the Effect would be that Human Affairs wou'd obtain a better Settlement and Order: Nor shou'd we see such Confusions in the World, or Translating of Government from one Hand to Another. For Dominion is most easily maintain'd by the same Methods by which it was acquir'd. But when Sloth Comes in the place of Industry, and Ambition and Tyranny of Temperance and Justice, the very Fortune and Pro-

Prosperity of the Conqueror Changes with his Manners ; And 'twill ever be seen, that Empire will remove from the less Worthy to settle it self with the more Virtuous and Brave. Sea and Land, Cities and Countries, with their several Fates, are All subject to the Power of Virtue. But there are Numbers of Men that are wholly enslav'd to the Appetites of Eating, Drinking and Sleeping , That are rude, That are senseless , and pass their Lives like Vagrants or Saunterers that have Nothing to do, Inverting the Nature of their Beings so far as to delight only in pamp'ring their Bodies , and to regard their Minds as useles and burdensome. Now I think it much the same Thing to such as These whether They live or dye ; for in either Case They are sure to be buried in Oblivion or Silence. But That's the Man, in my Judgment, that truly lives and enjoys his Nature, who takes Care to become the Author of some Noble Art or Illustrious Action to ensure a Name to Himself in the World. Many and various are the Ways to Honour , and the different Genius's of Mankind dispose Some to the Choice of This, and Others of That. 'Tis a Noble Thing to Act bravely for the Common-Wealth ; And to Write or Speak to the Advantage of it is a Thing also that is not without its Worth. Times of Peace as well as of War may give the Aspiring an Opportunity to be famous. And as well the Historians of illustrious Actions as the Heroes who atchiev'd 'em have acquir'd Reputation. I will not pretend that the Historian is entitled to an equal Share of Glory with his Hero ; But this I must say that, in my Opinion, 'Tis a Thing of no inconsiderable Difficulty to Compile a History ; First because the Facts which it describes ought to be equall'd by a Measure of Narration : And next because there are Many too prone to judge the Writer's Censures of Miscarriages to

proceed from Envy or ill Nature. On the other hand, If he sets forth the Virtue and Gallantry of Brave Men, If the Reader thinks himself Capable of Coming up to the same Pitch, he Can make a shift to digest the Account of it: But if it be Carry'd a Length farther, he looks upon All as a meer Romance. For my own part, in my Younger Years I was led away by my Inclination (after the Example of many Others) to enter into the Service of the Publick; Where an Army of Corruptions appear'd to encounter me. Impudence, Bribery and Covetousness reign'd, instead of Modesty, Innocence, and Virtue. Now, tho' I abhor'd such Vices as These, being at that time unpractis'd in Evil, Yet it ought not to be very much wondred at, if amidst a general Depravation of Manners, my thoughtless Youth was seduc'd by Ambition. And tho' I preserv'd my self free from the other Diseases that the Age was rife with, yet I own that the same Thirst after Greatness, and the same Envy and intriguing Spirit that possess'd Others, did haunt Me. Whereupon, after I was got rid of the Plague and Disquiet of a Publick Post, and determin'd to pass the Residue of my Life at a distance from all Business of the State, I took up another Resolution too, Not to lose so improvable a Retirement by becoming either thoughtless or idle: Nor yet to employ it in Husbandry or Hunting, or any of the ignoble Amusements of Life; But returning to prosecute the Designs from which a pernicious Ambition had tempted me to digress, I resolv'd to set about a History of the People of *Rome*, and such of their Transactions as shou'd seem Worthy of Transmitting to Posterity. The rather, because I was disengag'd from the Interests of any particular Party; and Clear of the Influence of Hope and Fear. The first Subject of my Pen, therefore, which I'll endeavour

to

to dispatch with as much Truth and Brevity as I can, shall be *Catiline's Conspiracy*. For That was an Enterprize which, in my Opinion, deserves to be remember'd for its unparallel'd Villany, and the Danger it threaten'd to the *Roman Republick*. But I think 'twill be proper to describe the Genius and Manners of the Man, before I enter on the Relation of his Deeds.

L. Catiline descended from a Noble Family, was a Person of great Forces of Mind and Abilities of Body at the same time; but of an ill-dispos'd and profligate Genius. From his very Youth his greatest Delight was in Broils, Murders, Robberies, and Sedition: And his Earlier Years had been spent therein. He had a Body was able to endure the Hardships of Cold, Hunger and Watchings, to a degree that is almost incredible; And a Spirit he had that was bold, turbulent, subtile, and inconstant: Dextrous in Counterfeiting That which was not, and as Skilful in disguising his Real Intentions; Covetous of Another's, and Profuse of his Own; Violent in all the Desires he Conceiv'd; Of a Volute Tongue, but indifferent Prudence; Vaft, insatiable, and boundless in his Wishes, and always aspiring after such Things as were prodigious, impossible, or above his Condition. Nothing wou'd satisfy the Ambition of This Man, after the Successful Usurpation of *L. Sylla*, but to make himself Master of the Common-Wealth. Nor did he matter by what Means he accomplish'd his Designs, so he gain'd but Sovereignty. His fierce and Ungovernable Spirit was exasperated every day to a greater Degree, and forcibly hurry'd to the executing his Enterprize by his necessitous Circumstances and the Conscience of his Crimes; Both which, the Villanous Practices I have mention'd before had sufficiently enhanc'd.

And then He was further incited to it by the general Corruption of Manners in the City ; Compounded particularly of the Two worst and most opposite Evils of Luxury and Avarice. But the Subject leading me upon this Occasion to speak of the Morals of the Republick, makes it proper I shou'd look back, and take a brief Account of the Manners and Discipline of our Ancestors, both at Home and A-broad ; and to Consider Their Administration of the Government : In what Condition They left it their Posterity ; And how from the most Virtuous of States It Came by degrees to be transform'd into the worst and most Corrupted on Earth.

The City of *Rome*, as I understand, was first built and inhabited by the *Trojans* : Who flying their Country under *Aeneas*, wander'd in quest of a New Settlement ; and were here join'd by the † Original Occupiers, a barbarous and uncultivated Race, that had liv'd without any Government or Laws. And after these Two several Nations, tho' differing in Original, Language and Manners, had begun to Cohabit in One City, 'Tis almost incredible how soon and how happily They embodied and became One People. But after, by increasing the Number of Citizens, by extraordinary Discipline, and extending their Territory, They began to make a Figure in the World, Their Growth, as is usual in such Cases, gave Umbrage to the Neighbouring Potentates ; who Commenc'd a War thereupon against 'em. The Friends that Came to their Aid were but few. For the greatest Part afraid of the Success rather Chose to remain Neuter and safe at Home. But as for the *Romans* in the mean time, They ran, They flew to betake Themselves to their Arms :

† Aborigines.

They

They order'd with unparallel'd Diligence and Vigor All their Affairs both at Home and Abroad: And Each chearing and encouraging his Fellow, They march'd boldly out against their Enemies, and defended the Cause of Liberty and their Country, with their Swords in their Hands. But after They had with great Bravery repuls'd the Danger that threaten'd Themselves, They hasted to succour their Friends and Confederates; and augmented their Reputation and Alliances more by giving than receiving Assistance. The Government They settled was a Government by Law; and the Protector or Head of it had the Title of King. Those whose Bodies were impair'd by Age, but their Minds enlarg'd by Experience and Wisdom, were selected and Constituted as a Council of State; and were call'd Fathers in regard of their Years, or their Father-like Care and Sollicitude for the Publick. But after Kingship, that at first was set up for Preserving of Liberty and Extending of Empire, had degenerated into Ambition and Tyranny, They presently alter'd the Form of their Government, and erected Consuls with an Annual Power. This Invention They suppos'd wou'd prove a Bar to the Designs of Ambitious Spirits. The State being form'd upon This Model, Every generous and gallant Soul began to discover and exert Himself. For Kings always look with a more jealous and discouraging Aspect on the Virtuous than the Bad; and to Princes the Bravery of Subjects is a Terror. But *Rome* being Now made a Free City, 'Tis almost incredible how powerful it became in a very short time: So ardent was the Thirst and Contention for Glory. The Young Men, as soon as They were able to bear Arms, were inur'd to all the Fatigues of Campaigning; were instructed in the Art and Discipline of War; and took more Delight in the Bravery of their Arms, and the

Mettle and Courage of their Martial Steeds, than in Whores and Debauches. Now, to These Men upon Any Occasion Hardship was no New Thing : To These No Marches were tedious, Nor Places inaccessible : No Face of an Enemy was formidable ; Their Hardy Virtue surmounted Every Thing. And the greatest Contention that prevail'd amongst them was, who should acquire the most Glory. Every one was for pushing forward to annoy the Enemy, or to scale their Walls, and was fond of being seen and distinguish'd in performing Acts of prodigious Valour. This they reckon'd the best Riches : They thought the truest Honour and Nobility consisted in such Atchievements as These. Fame was a Thing that they were covetous of, but in Matters of Money, they were Nobly profuse. And as an infinite stock of the former was desir'd, so a moderate Portion of the other contented 'em. If it would not be too great a Digression, I cou'd easily give you several Instances of the People of *Rome*'s having baffled vast Armies of Enemies with an Handful of Men ; and of their having carry'd, with Sword in Hand, Cities that Nature her self had fortify'd. But Fortune, I find, has a stroke in every thing, and either brightens or casts a Shade upon all the Actions of Mankind, more according to Humour than Merit. The Deeds of the *Athenians* doubtless were great, and yet I believe they were somewhat less than Fame wou'd needs have us conceive of 'em. But because *Athens* had Noble Writers, the Acts of that Republick are celebrated through the whole World as the most glorious : And the Gallantry of those Heroes who perform'd 'em, has had the luck to be thought as transcendent as the Eloquence of such Wits has describ'd 'em. But the People of *Rome* never enjoy'd the Advantage of such a Stock of Historians. For every Man of Spirit and Abilities was wholly

wholly engross'd by the Affairs of his Countrey. Mind and Body were employ'd at once ; And all your Gallant and Brave Souls were fonder of Action than of Writing or Discourse ; preferring the more solid Reputation of having Deeds of their own to be celebrated to that of becoming the Historians of Another's. Wherefore Exact Discipline and Manners were observed both at Home and Abroad. The greatest Unity for the Common Good, and as little of Avarice prevail'd among them. Laws did not oblige 'em more than their own Inclinations to do Justice. All their Feuds and Quarrels were with Enemies : And the only Contention among *Romans* was, who should exceed the other in Virtue. They were very magnificent in the Worship of the Gods ; Frugal in the managing Domestick Concerns ; Nicely true to their Friends and Allies ; and supported themselves and the Commonwealth both in War and in Peace, by the Two Virtues of Valour in the One, and Equity in the Other : For a Demonstration of which, tis enough to take notice, that in time of War they inflicted Punishments oftner on such as attack'd an Enemy against Orders, or kept the Field after sounding a Retreat, than on those who happen'd to be driven from their Standard, or oblig'd to quit the Post that was assign'd 'em. But during Peace, they govern'd themselves and the Empire more by Mildness than Fear : And chose rather to overlook, than severely prosecute or revenge Offences.

But while the Republick of *Rome* thus flourish'd by Valour and Discipline, Puissant Kings, and Formidable Nations being brought to submit to the Force of her Arms : Her Rival *Carthage* entirely destroy'd, and the Empire extended over all the World, Capricious Fortune in a Fit of Madness set her self to confound all ; and the Men who had born Fatigues with success, and triumph'd over Distress and Difficulties, perisht

perish'd by Idleness, and That Abundance which might have been better left to others. Love of Money, and Desire of Dominion, were the first Evils that began to prevail, and were the Inlet of all manner of Corruption. For Covetousness undermin'd Probity and Faith, and every thing, in short, that was virtuous and good: Brought in a Spirit of Pride and Inhumanity, and led Men to neglect the Gods, and to make sale of all Things whatsoever. And as for Ambition, it drew many to intrigue and act a deceitful part, moving 'em to design one thing in their Minds, but to make profession of another with their Tongues; to value Friendship or Enmity with any, not according to the worth of the Parties, but as it agreed with their own Interest; and to be ever carefuller to carry with 'em a Fair Face, than an Honest Mind. Yet it ought to be observ'd that these Vices grew not up at once, but by degrees; and sometimes met with the Publick Punishment. But after the Contagion had spread it self like a Raging Pestilence among the People, *Rome* was chang'd into a New Thing; and from the most Virtuous and best of Governments, became the most Corrupt and Intolerable. But the Minds of Men were not at first so far posseſſ'd by Covetousness as Ambition, a Vice yet which was nearer Virtue. For Honour, Glory and Empire are Things that both Good and Bad have the same Passion for; but the one pursues 'em the fair way, whereas the other, because he has not the due Qualifications to rise by, resorts to Tricks and Scandalous Methods. But as for Avarice, its only End is to rake up all the Money it can, a Thing which no Wise Man ever covet'd for its own sake. 'Tis a Vice, which like a Disease that's poisonous, corrupts at once both the Mind and Body. 'Tis always Infinite, 'tis for ever Insatiable, and is not to be quench'd by abundance of Want. But after

Sylla,

Sylla, who disparag'd his Fair and Plausible Beginnings by a Wicked Conclusion, had master'd the State which He pretended to Rescue, Every Man fell to rapping and rending : One greedily seiz'd upon a House: Another as eagerly possess'd Himself of Lands ; And the Victors, who set Themselves no Bounds, committed moreover the most dishonourable and barbarous Cruelties on their Fellow-Citizens. Add to this, That *L. Sylla* to oblige and fix his *Asian* Forces to his Interest, had, contrary to the Ancient Discipline of the *Romans*, indulg'd 'em in so much Luxury and Idleness, and quarter'd 'em in such loose and delicious Places, as debauch'd the rough Spirits of his Soldiers. There it was, that the *Roman* Army was first suffer'd to Drink and Whore ; and became fond of Pictures, of Goblets, and the other Rarities of a Vicious Age. To obtain which, They stuck not to perpetrate All sorts of Robbery both Publick and Private : To plunder the very Temples of the Gods, and to invade All Things both Sacred and Civil. And therefore after gaining a Battel, These Men wou'd be sure to take Care not to leave a Rag to the Vanquish'd. To be plain, Even Virtuous and Wise Spirits are apt to grow Intemperate with Success. And therefore 'tis much less to be expected that an Ungovern'd and Licentious Soldiery shou'd use their Victories with any Moderation. When Honour cameto be annex'd to Riches, and Glory and Empire to be the Servants of Money, discourag'd Virtue fell to decay ; Poverty was deem'd to be a Reproach ; And Honesty was suspected of ill Meaning. Wealth made the Youth to degenerate into Luxury, Avarice, and Insolence ; Led 'em to rap, and rend, and consume ; To be Unsatisfy'd with Every Thing of their Own, and to thirst continually for That of Others ; to lay aside All Chastity and Shame; To profane All Things both Human and Divine ;

And

And in short, To observe no Temper, Nor to have Regard to Any thing whatsoever! 'Twou'd be worth the while to take a survey of the Seats and Villa's of These Times, built with the Magnificence of Great Cities: And then to Visit the Temples of the Gods, founded by our Devout Ancestors, who made Religion the greatest Ornament of their Sacred Edifices, and the Noblest Furniture of their Own Houses to Consist Only of Heroic Virtue; And who never took from a Conquer'd Enemy any thing but the Power of doing hurt. But the wicked Temper of This Age, the most Corrupted that ever was, presumes to rob an Ally Himself of what the Generosity of Our Ancestors, the Gallantest Race of Mankind, wou'd have left inviolate to a Vanquish'd Adversary; As if the truest Exercise of Power were to do all the Mischief that's possible. What need I mention other things that will hardly meet with Credit from Those who have not been Eye-Witnesses of their Truth? Such as Levelling of Hills and Mountains, and raising Palaces in the Sea it self by Private Men for the Purposes of Pleasure: To whom their Riches, in my Opinion, prove the greatest Scandal in the World, by the prodigal Use that They make of That, which They might as easily employ with Honour. At the same time Whoring and Drinking, and every Thing else that was vicious prevail'd. Men chang'd Themselves into Women; and Women prostituted Themselves in publick. Sea and Land were ransack'd for the Palate. Sleep was indulg'd before it was wanted; Nor wou'd They be Contented to stay till Hunger, Thirst, or Cold came upon them, but anticipated their Needs through a Wantonness of Spirit: These Extravagancies put the Youth, after they had squander'd away their Estates, upon supplying their Wants by Villanous Enterprizes. For a Mind Corrupted by such Courses had always Lusts that urg'd to be grati-

gratify'd, and therefore embrac'd every Project for getting Money to Consume again.

Now in so debauch'd and populous a City 'twas an easy Matter, as *Catiline* found it, to pick up Multitudes of flagitious Followers. For every lewd and profligate Fellow, who by Drinking, Whoring, or other Debaucherries had brought his own Patrimony to Nothing, or had run Himself deep into other Men's Debt for Money to pay for a Fine or Pardon: Whoever were guilty of Parricide, or Sacrilege: All, who had been Convicts already, or expected They shou'd be such for their Crimes: And every Villain, whose Tongue or Hand had maintain'd him by Perjury or Assassinations: In a word, All who were press'd by Want, or hurry'd by Guilt or a Villainous Mind flock't to *Catiline*, became of his Intimates, and waited upon him like a sort of Guard. Moreover if Any, as yet innocent, happen'd to fall into his Acquaintance, They soon came by daily Converse with him, and the Baits which they met with, to be as bad as the rest. But above All, He was most fond of the Familiarity of the Young Men: Whose Minds being unexperienc'd and pliable, He knew cou'd be more easily seduc'd. And therefore, according as He found 'em dispos'd, He pimp'd and provided Whores for some: And Others, He furnish'd with Dogs and Horses. In a word, He spar'd no Cost, Nor (perhaps) the Chastity of his own Body, To fix 'em the Firmer to Himself and Interest. Sure I am 'twas the Opinion of some, That the Youth who frequented *Catiline*'s House were Concern'd in the most Unnatural Obscenities; Tho' All the Surmises of that kind were rather founded on suspicious Circumstances, than on any certain Knowledge of the Matter. However 'twas well known that *Catiline* had been guilty, when but a Young Man, of several Acts of abominable Lewdness in debauch-

debauching a Young Lady of Quality, and intrieguing with a Vestal Virgin and Others, in Violation of All Law and Religion. And last of all, To Consummate his Wickedness, falling in Love with *Aurelia Orestilla*, a Woman, who, bating her Face, had Nothing to Commend her to any Person of Virtue: And She making a Scruple of marrying him for fear of his Son, who was then of Age, 'tis reported for Certain that He rid his House of him by dispatching the Youth out of the World, To make way for his detestable Nuptials. Which Fact I believe was One of the main Causes of his hast'ning his Plot. For a Person so wicked as He was, and at odds both with the Gods and Men cou'd have no quiet waking or sleeping, through the constant hurries of a Guilty Conscience. Therefore was his Complexion pale, his Eyes hollow, his Pace uncertain, being sometimes quick and again as slow; And, in short, a certain Wildness and Fury appear'd in his Visage and whole Manner. As for the Young Men he had seduc'd by the tempting Methods before mentioned, He taught 'em the whole Practice of Villany; us'd 'em for Forgeries, and false Evidence; and made 'em lay aside all regard to their Words, their Fortunes, and the worst of Consequences. And after He had by this means bereft 'em both of Credit and Shame, He enjoy'd 'em greater Wickedness yet. For Executing which if no Reason or Opportunity offer'd at present, his Course was to Way-lay and Murder the Innocent, as well as Those who had any ways offend-ed him. For rather than suffer the Spirits or Hands of his Crew to soften or be out of use, He chose to be wicked and barbarous for Nothing. Depending on such Associates as These, and knowing withal that there were every where Multitudes to be met with who were deep in Debt: And moreover that Many of *Sylla's* Soldiers who had squander'd away their

Get.

Gettings in Riot, but had not forgotten the sweetness of Plunder, and the Gains They made by the late Successes, wou'd be very glad of a Civil War ; *Catiline* form'd a Conspiracy to seize and make Himself Master of the Republick. There was no Army at that Time in *Italy* to defend it. *Pompey* was Absent making War against Nations that were very remote. *Catiline* Himself expected the Consulate. The Senate was asleep, and dreamt of Nothing. And All seem'd in a profound Security. This Posture and Situation of Things serv'd to favour the Design of *Catiline*. And therefore about the Calends of *June*, *L. Cæsar* and *C. Figulus* being then Consuls, He began first to address himself to every One of his Friends apart : To sound the Disposition of Some ; To offer inciting Arguments to Others ; To tell 'em his Strength, and the defenceless Condition which the Republick was then in ; And in fine, To set forth the vast Advantages They shou'd All reap if the Thing succeeded. But when he had made what discovery of their several Sentiments he thought fit, He appointed a Meeting of All such of 'em as he knew to be most Needy and pushing. To this Meeting of the Senators came *P. Lentulus Sura*, *P. Autronius*, *L. Cassius Longinus*, *C. Cethegus*, *P.* and *Ser.* Sons of *Servius Sulla*, *L. Vargunteius*, *Q. Annius*, *M. Portius Læca*, *J. Bestia*, and *Q. Curius*. And of the Knight's Order *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *L. Statilius*, *P. Gabinius Capito*, and *C. Cornelius* ; Together with several other Persons that belong'd to the Colonies and † Enfranchis'd Towns, and who made the Figure of Nobility at Home. Besides These there were Many Others who abett'd the Plot, but behind the Curtain : And were led more by the aspiring hopes of obtain-

† Ex Municipiis.

ing

ing Dominion to approve of the Thing, than driven into it by Necessity or Want. Moreover a great part of the Youth, especially who were Noble, favour'd the Design. And the Men who had it in their power to be Easy, and to live as Great or Luxurious as They pleas'd, chose to Exchange Peace for War, and to barter a Certainty for That which was doubtful. And lastly there were some at that Juncture, who suspected *M. Licinius Crassus* Himself to be no Stranger to the Conspiracy ; because *Pompey* his great Enemy having then the Command of a formidable Army, They suppos'd He wou'd not be ill pleas'd with the Rise of any Power to Beard him. And perhaps too He might promise himself to be Head of the Party, if the Project succeeded.

But I think it proper to take notice that before this there had been a Conspiracy Entred into by some few Persons, among whom *Catiline* was One. And I'll give You the best Account of it I can. During the Consulate of *L. Tullus* and *M. Lepidus*, *P. Autronius* and *P. Sylla* the Consuls Elect were found guilty on the Laws Enacted against Corrupt Solliciting for Places, and suffer'd the Penalties. Shortly after which *Catiline* being accus'd of Bribery was put by in his Design of setting up for the Consulate, because he cou'd not clear himself and so be admitted to give in his Name within the Time that the Law did prescribe. At the same Juncture there was one *Piso*, a Young Nobleman, Needy, Factious, and of a Daring Spirit : Who was spurr'd on by his Necessitous Circumstances, and the Wickedness of his Nature to disturb the Government. This Man, and *Catiline*, and *Autronius* Enter'd about the Nones of *December* into a Consultation together. The Result of which was to Assassinate in the Capitol the two Consuls, *L. Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* on the then following *Calends*

lends of *January*. And the latter of the Three seizing the Fasces were to send away *Piso* with an Army to take possession of the two *Spains*. But the Plot happ'ning to get Air, the Execution was put off till the Nones of *February*; At which time They resolv'd not only on the Death of the Consuls, but of Many of the Senators. And if *Catiline* had not been too hasty in giving the Signal to the Conspirators near the Place the Senate was met in, That Day had been Witness to a Fact the most Execrable that was ever Committed since the founding of the Republick. But such of the Assassines as were got together hap-p'ning to be not a sufficient Body, the Design was thereby disappointed. *Piso* was afterwards by the Interest of *Crassus*, who knew him to be a great Enemy of *Pompey's*, sent as Prætor to the hither *Spain*: Tho' at that time he was only Quæstor. Nor indeed was it with much regret that the Senate it self bestow'd the Province on him: Being glad of having so ill a Man, remov'd as far from *Rome* as they cou'd. Besides there were many sensible People that were willing to make use of him as a Balance; For the Power of *Pompey* was then dreaded. But in the way to his Province He was slain by a Party of *Span-
ish* Horse, that march'd in the Army which he then led with him. Some say that the *Barbarians* cou'd not brook his Haughty and Tyrannical Orders; but Others affirm that Those Horsemen were only some old Clients of *Pompey's*, from whom They had directions to do what They did; And that the *Spani-
ards* had often been treated before this with Severity enough; yet had never Committed the like Fact. But I shall leave the Matter undetermin'd. And This may suffice for the former Conspiracy.

As soon as *Catiline* saw that the Persons before spoken of were come together, tho' he had often

dealt with each of 'em apart, yet judging it proper on this Occasion to bespeak the whole Body at once, he retir'd to the privatest part of the House, where out of the hearing of all who might betray them, he address'd the Company in this Manner.

‘ If I had not had sufficient Experience before now
‘ of your Courage and Constancy, I shou’d not ima-
‘ gine that much wou’d come of the great Hopes
‘ which I have entertain’d, and the Opportunity that
‘ is now in our Hands to make our selves Masters of
‘ the *Roman State*. Nor shou’d I through Easiness, or
‘ want of Judgment, take for a certain or feazible
‘ Thing what wou’d otherwise be, perhaps, doubtful.
‘ But because I have more than once found you both
‘ valiant and firm even in Junctures of Danger, I have
‘ ventur’d with great Assurance to undertake an En-
‘ terprize the greatest and noblest in the World. More-
‘ over, I know that we all agree in pursuing and
‘ shunning the same Things. And what’s the Band
‘ of a lasting Friendship but such a Conformity of
‘ Dispositions? You have every Man of you had my
‘ Design communicated separately to you already.
‘ And I cannot but tell you, that my Spirit is kin-
‘ dled every Day more and more upon thinking what
‘ a Life we must lead if we do not fight our selves in-
‘ to Liberty. For a few Great Ones having engross’d
‘ the Government into their own Hands, Kings, Te-
‘ trarchs, Provinces and Countries must pay Tri-
‘ bute to no body but them. And as for other Brave
‘ Fellows, Nobles and Commoners, or whoever we
‘ be, we are all but insignificant Mob: Without the
‘ least Authority or Interest; and under the lash of
‘ those Men, to whom, if the Government were but
‘ put on a right Foot, we shou’d rather be a Terror.
‘ All the Wealth, Interest and Preferments are with
‘ these Fellows, or at their Disposal; and they have
‘ left Us nothing but the Goodly Portion of Repulses,
‘ Dangers,

‘ Dangers, Punishments and Want. But how long
‘ will you, the Bravest of Men, tamely suffer this In-
‘ tolerable Usage ? Is it not better to die bravely,
‘ than continue the Scorn of other Mens Insolence,
‘ and lose our Lives at last with Disgrace ? Gods !
‘ But we have Victory in our Hands that wou’d save
‘ ‘em ; we have Youth, we have Strength, we have
‘ Courage on our side. But every thing with them
‘ is as old and decrepit as their Riches, their Luxury
‘ and their Years can make it. We have nothing to
‘ do but to strike the Stroke. The Undertaking will
‘ afterwards finish it self. Who that has any Soul in
‘ him can endure that they should have spare Money
‘ enough to build ‘em Palaces in the Sea it self, and
‘ to level Hills and Mountains for their Pleasure,
‘ at the same time that we have hardly so much as
‘ Bread to put to our Heads ? That they should have
‘ choice of Seats for their Delight, and we scarce have
‘ a single House remaining to shelter our selves in ?
‘ Your Pictures, your Statues, and your Rarities in
‘ Sculpture are all in the Hands of these Purchasers.
‘ They pluck ye down even Piles that are new, and
‘ set up others more stately in their room. In fine,
‘ They are ever raking up Money by all ways, and
‘ ever consuming it. And yet their Treasure is so
‘ vast, that with all their Extravagance they can ne-
‘ ver exhaust it. But as for Us, we have Poverty at
‘ Home, and hungry Creditors abroad to devour us.
‘ Desperate Circumstances, and more Desperate Ex-
‘ pectations. In short, What is left us but our Mis-
‘ erable Breath ? Arise then, and lash up your Resent-
‘ ment ! View the Liberty, the Transporting Liberty
‘ which you have so often sigh’d after ! View the
Riches and the Honours that are before you ! they
are all Rewards that attend Success. Poverty, Dan-
ger, Opportunity , Circumstances added to the
Spoils of Victory, shou’d inflame you more than

all the Harangues in the World. For my own part
you shall have me your General, or no more than
a Private Soldier, as you please. My Heart and
my Hand shall be inseparably with you. And, in
fine, I have hopes I shall act as a Consul in Compa-
ny with you in this Enterprize, if I am not, perhaps,
out in my Thoughts, and you rather chuse to
continue Slaves, than Hew out a Way to Empire
with your Swords.

Catiline having spoke thus to the Company, whose Condition was every way Bad ; and who had no just Expectation of Bettering it, Tho' They cou'd not but think They shou'd find their Account in Exciting Troubles in the Common-Wealth ; Yet the greatest Part notwithstanding desir'd him to declare the Terms upon which They shou'd Engage ; Whose Assistance They might Reckon upon ; and what Rewards shou'd attend their succeeding. *Catiline* upon this promis'd 'em Tables of Indemnification from All Debts ; Prescriptions of All such as were Wealthy ; Posts of Preferment both Sacred and Civil ; Plunder, and Every Thing that follows a Victory, and the Uncontrollable Pleasure of Conquerors. Moreover, He told 'em that *Piso* and *P. C. Nucerinus* were Concern'd. That the Former was Master of Hither *Spain* ; and the Latter in *Mauritania* with an Army : That *C. Antonius* being a Candidate for the Consulate, He had great Hopes he shou'd have Him his Colleague ; Who was not only his most intimate Friend, but a Man press'd with all sorts of Straits. And that as soon as he was chosen Consul with him, He was resolv'd to put his Design in Execution. Then he proceeded in most Virulent Language to inveigh against All the Men of Integrity ; To accost Each of the Company by Name : To Cajole and Extol 'em for Brave Men ; To put One in mind of his Wants ; To joke with Another about his Letchery ;

Letchery ; To tell Many of their Danger and Disgrace ; And to inculcate the Fortune of *Sylla* to All, who had made any Market in that War. When He saw They were All Hearty for the Enterprize , He exhorted 'em only to be Careful of his Interest with respect to the Consulate , and broke up the Meeting.

There were Some at that time who reported that *Catiline*, after he had ended his Speech, and came to Exact an Oath from the Conspirators, handed about Vessels of Wine mingled with Human Blood : And that as soon as the Company had sworn and tasted of the Liquor All round , as the Manner is at Solemn Sacrifices , He unfolded to Them the Plan of his Design ; To the end that every Man of 'em being guilty of the same Privity and Concern in the Thing, it might make 'em the Truer to Each Other. But Some look't upon All This, and a great deal more, to be only invented by Them , who thought in a great measure to take off the Odium that *Cicero* had Contracted on account of Those, who had suffer'd for the Plot , By representing it with the most Villanous Circumstances. For my own part , I cou'd never get such a satisfactory Account of the Matter, as one might have expected from the Extraordinary Nature of it.

But to frustrate all Precautions whatsoever, One of the Persons that happen'd to be engag'd in This Conspiracy , as I have told you , was *Q. Curius* : A Man of Birth, but immers'd in Wickedness , and Expell'd the Senate as Scandalous by the Censors. He was made up of Vanity and Impudence ; Unable to hold what he knew of Another, or so much as to Cover his own Leudness. In a Word, He was One who had no Regard to any thing that he either said or did. This Man for several Years had carry'd on a Whoring Intrigue with one *Fulvia*, a

Woman of Quality : And finding at length that her Reception of him was more Cold than it us'd to be, because he cou'd not be so Lavish upon her, by means of the low reducing of his Fortune : All on a sudden he began to boast and promise Nothing but Seas and Mountains ; Then in a Passion to draw his Sword, and threaten to kill her if she wou'd not Comply to him ; And, in fine, To, Hector and bounce at such a rate as never before. *Fulvia* having sifted out the Cause of All This swaggering Behaviour of *Curius*, resolv'd not to smother a Matter that threaten'd so much Danger to the Publick ; but, Concealing her Author, reveal'd to several the Conspiracy of *Catiline*, and All that she had learnt of it. This Discovery mov'd every one to stickle for *M. Cicero*'s being made Consul. For before most of the Nobles disdain'd him, and look'd on the Consulate as prophan'd, in a manner, by stooping to One, who was but of Yesterday, tho' in all other Points an Extraordinary Man. But as soon as Danger came to be in View, Their Pride and Envy were postpon'd to their Safety. Whereupon Convening the Courts for that purpose, *M. Cicero* and *C. Antonius* were declar'd Consuls. This was the first Blow that was given to the Conspirators and their Plot. However, the fierce Resolution of *Catiline* was so far from being broken or cool'd, that he daily bestirr'd himself but the more ; Provided private Magazines of Arms in all the Convenient Places of *Italy* ; Took up considerable Sums of Money on his own Credit and that of his Friends, and sent it to † *Fesulae* to one *Mallius*, who was afterwards the Man that began the Rising. At the same time, 'tis said, that he drew in great Numbers of all sorts

† Now Fiesoli, a small Place near Florence.

to join in the Conspiracy : Among whom there were some Women, who had heretofore by leud Prostitution maintain'd a vast Expence and Prodigality. But Age at length having put an end to all their Perquisites of That kind, but None to their Extravagance, They had run Themselves very deeply in Debt. By the Help of These *Catiline* propos'd to gain the Slaves and Rabble of the Town ; To fire the City ; and to prevail on their Husbands to take part with him, or Murder 'em for refusing. The Chief of this Number was *Sempronia*, who had often made her self Author of Actions as bold as the Hardiest Men cou'd pretend to. She had all the Advantages of Birth and Beauty ; and was very happy in a Husband and Children. She was moreover a perfect Mistress of the *Greek* as well as her own Tongue. She cou'd Sing ; she cou'd Dance, and that more nicely than became a Woman of Reputation. She had all the Arts that ministred to Profusion. Every thing had more Esteem with her than Chastity ; And 'twas hard to say which of the Two she was most Lavish of, Her Money or her Fame. She was so much carry'd away by Letchery, that she oftner sought the Men, than was sought to. She had broke her Word a thousand times over ; forsworn Trusts ; been guilty of Murder ; ruin'd her self by her prodigious Extravagance ; and was turn'd Fury by reason of her Want. At the same time she was not without a very Entertaining Genius : She cou'd make Verses ; divert with Raillery ; Wheedle or Banter as she thought fit ; Talk modestly, or talk smutty. And, in fine, in every Thing she wrote or said, there was a World of Humour and surprising Wit.

Matters being carry'd thus far ; *Catiline* notwithstanding his late Repulse stood for the Consulate of the Year ensuing : Hoping that if he had the Luck

to be chosen, he shou'd manage *Antonius* as he pleas'd himself. In the mean time he did not suffer his Principal Design to stand still; but laid all sorts of Snares for *Cicero*; who was not wanting on the other hand in Precaution or Cunning to defeat 'em. For all along from his Entrance on the Consulate, by making great Promises to *Fulvia*, he had wrought upon *Curius* to give an Account from time to time of *Catiline's* Measures. He had likewise rid his Hands of *Antonius*, by assigning over to him his † Province, To prevent his Acting against the Publick. And then he had always a private Guard of Friends and Dependants about his Person. When the Day for Chusing Consuls was come, and *Catiline* perceiv'd that neither his Petition for That Dignity, nor the Engines he had wrought with to destroy *Cicero* came to any Thing, He resolv'd on open War and Extremities. Upon which he order'd *C. Mallius* to *Fæsulæ*, and the Parts of * *Hetruria* confining thereupon; *C. Julius* to post away for *Apulia*; One *Septimius* a *Camertian* to the † *Picene*; and several Others to other Places, where he thought Each might be most serviceable. In the mean time *Catiline* carry'd on several Projects at once in *Rome*. One he had for Killing the Consul; and Another for setting Fire to the City. Moreover he took Measures for Securing All the most Advantageous Posts; went about continually Arm'd; press'd his Confederates to be always ready; was ever busy'd both Night and Day, without giving himself any Rest; and yet Untir'd with All his Fatigues. But finding that All his Plots and Endeavours prov'd

† *That of Macedonia*; which belong'd to *Cicero*, but was by him Assign'd to *Antonius*.

* Now *Tuscany*.

† Now call'd *La Marca D' Ancona*.

abortive and to no purpose, he again summon'd the Chiefs of the Conspiracy, by *M. Porcius Lecca*, to a Meeting in the Night. Where, after Complaining much of their Backwardness, He let 'em know he had dispatch'd *Mallius* to put himself at the Head of the Forces that were then ready to take Arms; That he had sent Others to other Parts, which he thought Convenientest to begin the Rising in; And that he wou'd go Himself to the Army, if he had but once taken off *Cicero*, who was the Great Obstacle of All his Measures. Whereupon *C. Cornelius*, a *Roman Knight*, together with *L. Vargunteius* a Senator, (the Rest appearing fearful and irresolute) promis'd him All the Assistance they cou'd give in it: And agreed to Go without any Delay with an Arm'd Retinue to *Cicero's* House, under pretence of making him a Visit, and to take him Unprepar'd and Assassinate him. As soon as *Curius* understood the great and approaching Danger that threaten'd the Consul, He gave him Notice of it by *Fulvia*. Whereupon the Conspirators were refus'd Admittance into *Cicero's* House, and the Design was defeated.

In the mean time *Mallius* was extremely busy in *Hetruria*, in Exciting the Populace to take Arms; who pinch'd with Poverty, and enrag'd by Sufferings, having lost the greatest part of their Estates under the late Tyranny of *Sylla*, were fond of Fishing in any Troubles. He moreover drew to him All the Banditti and Rogues of the Country, (which were very many) as also some old Soldiers of *Sylla's*, who were settled in Those Parts by their Master; and whose Extravagance and Dissolute Living had spent 'em All the Plunder they had made.

Cicero having receiv'd Intelligence of These Proceedings, was somewhat startled at the View of a Mischief so uncertain in its Consequences ; And finding that he cou'd no longer now by his own private Conduct or Strength secure the City against the Plotters ; nor had as yet any certain Account of the Force or Number of *Mallius*'s Army , or what Designs he might have in hand ; He laid the Matter before the Senate , tho' the same for some time before had been nois'd and talk'd of among the People. Thereupon the Senate, as the Manner is in All Important and Critical Conjunctions , resolv'd that the Consuls shou'd take upon 'em the Absolute Administration of the State , That It might not Come into any Jeopardy. For the Constitution of the *Roman* Government Authorizes the Senate in Extraordinary Cases to allow the Magistrate an Extraordinary Power : As, To Raise Armies ; Carry on Wars ; Exercise all manner of Jurisdiction over Allies as well as Citizens : And, To sum up All, To be at the Head of All Affairs both at Home and Abroad. But otherwise no Consul has Authority (unless by a special Commission from the People) to Act any Thing in these Matters.

A few Days after This Transaction , *L. Senius* produc'd Letters in the Senate , which he told the House were brought him from *Fæsulæ* : Giving an Account that a Numerous Rabble, headed by *C. Mallius*, had taken up Arms about the Beginning of November. This presently made several, as it commonly happens upon such Occasions, relate 'ye Stories of frightful Prodigies and Apparitions that had lately been seen : And Others talk'd of Consults and Meetings ; Of Arms Carry'd in Quantities to *Capua* ; and of an Insurrection of Slaves in *Apulia*. Hereupon the Senate dispatch'd *Q. Marcius Rex* to *Fæsulæ*, and *Q. Metellus Creticus* to *Apulia* and its Neighbourhood.

These

These Generals at that Time were detain'd without the Gates of the City, on a Stop put to their Triumphal Entry through the base Detraction of some Mercenary Persons, whose Manner it was to make a Penny of all Honours, and of every Thing else. At the same time the Prætors, *Q. Pompeius Rufus* and *Q. Metellus Celer*, were sent, The first to *Capua*, and the other to the *Picene*; with a Commission to Levy with all Speed such Forces as the Juncture requir'd. A Proclamation was moreover publish'd, promising a Reward of Freedom and † 100000 Sesterces to any Slave, and a Pardon and Two hundred thousand to every Freeman that shou'd make any Discovery of the Plot, that was then o' foot to Subvert the Government. All the Families of the Gladiators were order'd to be sent away, and dispers'd in *Capua*, and the rest of the Franchiz'd Towns, according to the Ability of each Place: And Directions were given for strict Guards under the Command of the Inferior Magistrates, to be posted all over the City. These Proceedings and Preparations of the Government, alter'd the Chear and Countenance of *Rome*; and in the midst of Riotous and wanton Jollity, the Effect of the long Peace they had had, On a sudden the whole City was struck into a Consternation and Damp. All was Hurry, Terror and Confusion. Every man was jealous of his Fellow, and distrustful of All Places he was in. The Town cou'd not properly be said to be in a State of War or Peace: And every one was ready to make his own Fear the Measure of his Danger. At the same time the Women too, that, born under a Victorious Empire, never us'd to be afraid of War, fell to terrify and bemoan Them-

† Computed by some to be 500 Pistoles.

elves;

selves ; To spread their suppliant Hands to Heaven ; To bewail the Fate of their tender Infants ; To enquire News ; To dread every Thing ; To lay their Pride and Pleasures aside ; And to entertain the most Melancholy Apprehensions of their own Safety and That of the Publick. But the hard'ned Spirit of *Catiline* was resolv'd to proceed in the Design he had Undertaken, notwithstanding all the Preparations to Defeat it ; and tho' he was likewise impeach'd upon the * Law of *Plautius* by *L. Paulus*. Moreover He resolutely went into the Senate-House, To Cloak his Guilt, or to Vindicate his Innocence, as Attack'd only from Passion or Malice : Wheupon *Cicero*, either afraid of the Influence of his Presence, or incens'd at the Sight of him, made a very Notable Speech for the Service of his Country, which he afterwards publish'd. But *Catiline*, who before-hand was prepar'd to act the part of Dissembler in the Matter, after he had done, address'd himself with a mighty Submission and Flattery to the Fathers, ' That They would not be too hasty in ' believing any Reports in his Disfavour ; That ' he Came of a Family so Deserving, and that ' his Demeanor had always been such, that there ' was not any Thing which he might not hope ' for ; And that they ought not to suppose ' that One of Patrician Rank, as Himself was, ' and whose own Services and Those of his An- ' cestors had redounded so much to the Advantage ' of the *Romans*, Cou'd ever Come to be under a ' Necessity of destroying their Government To make ' Himself Great, at the same time that *M. Tullius*, ' who was a Foreigner but the other Day, tho' a Ci-

* Which was made for proceeding against such as should offer Violence to, or form any Design against the Senate, Magistrates, &c.

‘tizen Now, discover’d so much Zeal for its Welfare.’ Upon his backing This with further Reflections the whole Senate resented his Behaviour, and Cry’d out that He was a Firebrand and Parricide: Whereupon in a great Rage He declar’d, that since he found he was got among Enemies, and forc’d on Extremities to Defend Himself, He was resolv’d to Extinguish the Fire They had kindled with Nothing less than the Ruin of his Adversaries. Pronouncing This, He flung out of the House, and went his way Home: Where revolving a thousand Matters in his Mind, the ill Success of his Plot against the Consul, and the Impossibility of firing the City, because ’twas secur’d by such Watching and Warding; And Concluding the most advisable Course was immediately to Augment the Number of his Forces; and before any Legions Cou’d be got ready, To make sure of All such Provisions as might prove serviceable to him in the War, He set forward in the Dead of Night with a small Retinue for the Camp of *Mallius*; Having first given Instructions to *Cetbegus*, to *Lentulus*, and to others whom he knew the most pushing, To support the Conspiracy by all Means in the World: To finish the Design against Cicero’s Life: And have every thing ready for a Fire, a Massacre, and the other Exploits of a bloody War; With a promise that They shou’d soon see him with a great Army at the Gates of the City.

While These Matters were acting at *Rome*, C. *Mallius* dispatch’d Agents with directions to bespeak Q. *Marcius Rex* in this Manner. ‘ We Call both the Gods and Men, most illustrious General! to witness for us, That we have not taken up These Arms with any Hostile Intention against our Country, or for the sake of doing Mischief to any Body: But only To rescue Our Own Persons from That Oppression and Want which They are under: Our Per-

‘ Persons, I say, reduc’d to Misery by the barbarous
‘ Treatment of Unreasonable Usurers. We are too
‘ Many of us banish’d Our Country : And All of us
‘ robb’d of our Credit and Fortunes ; debarr’d the
‘ benefit of Those Laws, which Our Forefathers
‘ have enjoy’d before us ; and after suffering the loss
‘ of Our Patrimonies, Not permitted the Liberty of
‘ Our Persons : Such has been the Cruelty of the
‘ Prætor and our Creditors. Our Ancestors pitying
‘ the Necessities of the People have often reliev’d
‘ ‘em by Decrees in their favour. And but very
‘ lately within Memory, In regard of the great
‘ Debts that were Owing, By the Vote of every Ho-
‘ nest Man All the Usurers were oblig’d to Ac-
‘ cept in full discharge of their Silver Credit a Fourth
‘ Part of the Value in Brass. It has often too been
‘ known that the Populace willing to have some Au-
‘ thority Themselves, or not Enduring the Loftiness
‘ of their Magistrates have taken up Arms, and di-
‘ vided from the Fathers. But for Us, ’tis Neither
‘ Empire nor Riches the Things which commonly
‘ give a Birth to All the Contentions of the World,
‘ that We aim at ; No ! ’tis Liberty, ’tis Only Liber-
‘ ty, which a Brave Man Can never part with but
‘ at the same time that he parts with Life. We Con-
‘ jure Your self and the Senate then, to regard the
‘ Case of distressed Citizens ; To restore to Us the
‘ Protection of the Laws, which the Prætors Injustice
‘ has taken from Us ; And not to force Us to the sad
‘ Necessity of seeking out such Ways to perish by,
‘ as may best Revenge Our own Blood by a Vast
‘ Effusion of That of our Persecutors.

To This *Q. Marcius* return’d for Answer, ‘ That
‘ If they had any Thing to petition of the Fathers,
‘ They would do well to lay down their Arms, and
‘ repair in a supplicant Manner to *Rome*. Adding,
‘ That the *Roman* Government was always so Com-
passionate

‘ passionate and Generous to the Miserable, that
‘ None ever made Application to it in vain for the
‘ redress of their Grievances.

In the mean time *Catiline*, as he was on his way to the Camp, wrote Letters to several Persons of Consular Dignity, and to All the Chief Nobility in *Rome*, ‘ Representing that he was falsely accus’d : ‘ And not being Able to maintain his ground against the prevailing Faction of his Enemies was oblig’d to submit himself to his Fortune, and was going a Voluntary Exile to * *Massilia* ; Not because he knew himself guilty of such Matters as were laid to his Charge, but only To Favour the Repose of the Publick, and prevent any Stirs upon the Score of his Quarrel.’ But *Q. Catulus* produc’d Letters in the Senate, that were penn’d in a quite different Strain, and said to be deliver’d him as Coming from *Catiline*. An Exact Copy whereof follows.

L. Catiline to Q. Catulus Greeting.

‘ Your Extraordinary Faithfulness to my Interest
‘ (of which I have had sufficient Experience, in the
‘ most † Dangerous Junctures of my Life) as It did
‘ extremely Oblige Me Then, so It gives Me Confidence at This Time to recommend My Affairs to
‘ You. Wherefore I thought it not worth My while
‘ to Defend My self in the late Senate. Designing,
‘ as Conscious of no Fault, to make an Apology to
‘ You Only, and such a One as, I persuade My self,
‘ You know and will agree to be a just and a true
‘ One. Provok’d Then by Aspersions and Injuries,

* Now *Marfeilles* in France.

† *Catulus* had formerly stood by him in the business of his Violating the *Vestal Virgin*.

‘ being robb’d of the Fruit of my Labour and Merit by losing the Dignity for which I was a Candidate, I have undertaken as was ever my Principle, To vindicate the Common Cause of the Oppress’d ; Not upon the Score of my being in Debt : For I Cou’d out of My own Estate have satisfy’d Every Thing of My own Contracting, (And for Money rais’d for the use of Others, the Generosity of *Aurelia Orestilla* Cou’d pay ’em out of her Own and her Daughter’s) but because I saw Contemptible Fellows advanc’d to Places of Trust and Preferment : And My self repuls’d upon groundless Surmises. For which Reasons I have taken such Measures for preserving the little Remainder of My Dignity as, Considering My Circumstances, are sufficiently honourable. I was going to Enlarge, when Intelligence was brought Me that my Enemies are making Preparations for War. I Conclude with commanding *Orestilla* to your Care ; And beseech You by Your Children and Every thing that’s Dear to You to protect her from All Injury. Adieu.

After *Catiline* had pass’d some few Days with *C. Flaminius* in the * *Reatine Territory*, to provide Arms for such of the Rabble as were got together in That Neighbourhood, He march’d directly for the Camp of *Mallius*, with the Fasces and Ensigns of Supreme Power. An Account whereof Coming to *Rome*, the Senate declar’d *Catiline* and *Mallius* both Rebels ; but set a certain Day for their Followers, before which to lay down their Arms, and be All pardon’d : Excepting such as had been Convict’d of Capital Offences ; Gave Directions for a General Muster ; And Decreed that *Antonius* shou’d March immediate-

* *Reate* was a Sabine City North of *Rome*, and is Call’d *Rieti* in Modern Maps.

ly with a strong Army in quest of *Catiline*; And his Colleague *Cicero* remain at Home to take Care of the Repose of the City.

I cannot forbear to take notice that the *Roman* People at this Juncture seem'd to me to be in a sad and Unhappy Case: Who, notwithstanding they receiv'd the Homage of a Conquer'd World from the very Rising to the Setting Sun, and enjoy'd an overflowing Tide of Wealth, Ease and Prosperity at home, the greatest Blessings which Mankind are generally thought capable of possessing, should yet have at the same time a Set of Villains among themselves so obstinately bent on their own Ruin, as well as That of the Commonwealth. For notwithstanding the two Proclamations of the Senate, not a Man of the vast Number engag'd with *Catiline*, was ever tempted by the promis'd Reward to discover the Plot; nor so much as one single Person prevail'd upon to desert his Camp. So strong and obstinate a Humour of Rebellion had diffus'd it self like a mighty Plague through a great part of the *Roman* Citizens. Nor were the Persons concern'd with *Catiline*, the only Men that were disaffected, but indeed the whole Populace in general, extremely fond of a Revolution, wish'd well to the Design on foot. In truth, the Dissatisfaction of the Rabble was no new or unusual thing; for the Needy People of all States envy the better Fortune of the Rich; extol and side with the worst of Men; and disliking their present Government and Condition, desire nothing so much as Change; hoping, without the Drudgery of Care, to get their Livings out of Publick Troubles; or at least to bring their Fortunes to a Market wherein Poverty has nothing to lose. But many more Causes than one concurr'd to make the *Roman* Populace so prompt and ready to engage in Villany. For all the Rascals about *Italy*, that were most noted for Wickedness and Debauchery: All

They who had lost their Patrimonies by Profuse Living, or what was Worse: And All, in fine, whose Offences had made their Own Countrey too hot to hold 'em, Flock'd to *Rome* as a Common Sewer that receiv'd the Scum of the whole World. There were Many besides, who looking back on the late Successes of *Sylla*'s Army, and taking Notice that of Those who Once had been Common Soldiers, Some were Now sitting in the Senate House: And Others flowing in so much Wealth and Luxurious Plenty, That They liv'd like Princes, Confidently Hop'd by their Swords to Cut out the same Good Fortune for Themselves. And then a great many Young Fellows, that us'd formerly to earn their Bread by their Own Labour in Country Husbandry, led away by the Luring Bait of Private and Publick Largeesses in the City, preferr'd *Rome* and an Idle Life to the Rustick Drudgery of Hard Working. These and Others of the same Stamp liv'd upon the Troubles of the Commonwealth. And it can't well be accounted strange that Fellows of such Abandon'd Morals, such Needy Circumstances, and Vast Expectations, should prove no better Friends to the Publick, than They were before to their Own Interest. Again, Such whose Families had undergone Proscriptions, or lost their Estates or Privileges under the Usurpation of *Sylla*, had the same Advantage accruing from War, in their Hopes and View that the rest had. And lastly, All They in general of a different Faction from That of the Nobility, were for having the Government (at least) shaken, rather than not be Masters themselves: The Evil Spirit of Parties and Dissentions, which had lain asleep for several Years, Reviving again at this Juncture. For after the Tribune's Power was restor'd by the Consuls *C. Pompey*, and *Marcus Crassus*, Young Gentlemen of great Spirits, and who had all the Heat of their Blood about 'em, having got the Chief Authority in their

their Hands, began by Inveighing against the Senate to put the Common People in a Ferment ; and by great Largeesses, and greater Promises, endeavour'd still to inflame 'em more. By which Methods They became Formidable, and were cry'd up as the Only Patriots. Against These a great part of the Nobility (again) oppos'd Themselves with their utmost Might, to support their Own Grandeur and Power : But under Colour at the same time of maintaining only That of the Senate. For, to say All in a few Words, who ever offer'd to disturb the Government of those Days, always did it under specious Pretences : Some professing to Stand up for the Liberties of the People; Others to Assert the Authority of the Fathers : And All to prosecute the Publick Good. Yet All design'd at the same time no more in truth than their Own Greatness. Nor was there any Care taken to observe the least Temper in the Dispute ; and the Prevailing Party always carry'd it with a High Hand, and Outrageous Insolence. But after C. Pompey was sent away to suppress the Pirates, and reduce *Mithridates*, the Peoples Party became low ; and a few Great Ones had all the Power, engross'd every Office of Trust, dispos'd of Provinces and Honours at their pleasure, grew too Big to be accountable, or to fear: Aw'd the Tribunes with Condemning Sentences, to prevent their raising the Peoples Fury: And, in short, All Things ran o' their side. But as soon as ever the least Hope of a New Modelling presented it self, the Old Contention Reviv'd, and animated the Spirits of the Populace ; so that if in the first Engagement, *Catiline* had happen'd to come off Victor, or if he had made it a Drawn Battel, vast Confusion, and a mighty Bloodshed must needs have follow'd in the Commonwealth. Nor wou'd it have been, in all likelihood, in the Power of the Conquerors to have reapt the Harvest of their own Victory. But after they had

spent or weaken'd themselves, some Aspirer, who had Strength enough to form a greater Party than the rest, wou'd have wrested from 'em their shortliv'd Conquests, and introduc'd Universal Slavery.

But there were several Persons not concern'd at first in the Conspiracy, who yet went to join *Catiline* as soon as the Insurrection was begun ; of which Number *Fulvius*, the Son of a Senator, was one ; who was apprehended going to the Rebels, and after being brought back to the City, was put to death by the Command of his Father. At the same time *Lentulus* and his Emissaries (according to the Instructions receiv'd from *Catiline*) were busy at *Rome* in engaging All, that he thought, by reason of their Vicious Morals, or reduc'd Fortunes, wou'd be glad of Changes. Nor did he solicit Citizens only, but also People of all Nations, that were like to prove serviceable in the War. To which end he gave Directions to one *P. Umbrenus*, to sound and tamper with the Deputies of the * *allobroges*, and prevail upon 'em, if it was possible, to join with the Conspirators in carrying on the War ; flatteting himself that a People embarrass'd with so many Publick and Private Debts, and of a Genius moreover so prompt to War, as the *Gauls* are, might easily be persuaded to embrace Proposals of this kind. This *Umbrenus*, having traded into *Gaul*, was acquainted with most of the Chiefs of the Cities. Wherefore, without deferring the Affair, as soon as he saw the Deputies in the *Forum*, he accosted 'em (first) with a few Questions about the State and Condition of their Countrey ; and pretending to bewail the Grievances they were under, ask'd 'em What Issue they expected to them ? And when in an-

* Situate near the Lake Lemane, whose Countrey is now possess'd by the Savoyards, Geneva, &c.

fwer to this he found 'em to run out into Complaints of the Covetousness of the *Roman* Magistrates: To inveigh against the Senate as a Body from which there was no Redress to be obtain'd; and to talk of Death as the only thing that must terminate their Miseries; 'I, said he, will put you in a way how to 'end your Calamities quickly, if you will but act 'with the Courage of Men.' The Deputies awak'd by these Words, to the Soothing Hopes of getting Relief, fell presently to beseech *Umbrenus* to take Compassion of their sad Condition; and to let him know that there was no Enterprize so desperate that They would not most readily undertake, if it might be a Means of rescuing their Country from the vast Burthen of Debt that it was under. Thereupon he carry d 'em to the House of * *D. Brutus*, as next the *Forum*, and convenient for his Purpose, because of *Sempronius*, who was so deep in the Design. Besides, *Brutus* himself happen'd at That time to be absent from *Rome*. He sent also for *Gabinius* to be present, to Confirm and Credit what he had to say. Being come, he unfolded to them the Conspiracy; disclos'd the Names of the Chief Accomplices, and took the liberty to mention several of All Qualities, that had no Concern in it, to give the Deputies the more Encouragement. After he had done, he receiv'd their Assurances of the *Gauls* engaging: And so they parted.

But the Deputies, when they came to consider all Matters duly by Themselves, were a long time in mighty perplexity about what Measures they should take. On the One side there were pressing Debts, a very strong Inclination to War, and the prospect of great Advantages on succeeding. But then, o' the Other, there was

* Husband, or some near Relation, as may be presum'd, of *Sempronius*.

More Strength, Safer Conduct, and a Certain Recompence in the place of Uncertain Expectations. Upon Weighing Thus, and Agitating Things, The Roman Fortune at last prevail'd; And away They went to *Q. Fabius Sanga*, who Acted * as Patron of Their Nation, and Laid open the whole Conspiracy so far as It had Come to Their Knowledge. *Cicero* inform'd by *Sanga* of the Matter, Instructed the Deputies to make Profession of Engaging very heartily in the Plot; To give the several Conspirators a Meeting; To hold 'em in hand with fair Promises; and, last of all, To make it their Business to get the Names of All who were Concern'd, and as full Proof as was possible against 'em.

While This was doing, there were some Commotions both in the † Hither and Further Gaul, in the Picene Territory, in ∵ *Brutium*, and *Apulia*. For the Persons *Catiline* had sent thither Acted All like Mad Men or Fools. And by holding Clubs and Consults in the Night, Carrying Arms This Way and That, Constant Hurry and a mighty Pother Caus'd more of Alarm than Danger. In so much that the Prætor *Q. Metellus Celer*, having Understood the Reason of their Motions, By an Order which the Senate had made Apprehended and Clapt Many of 'em in Irons. The like was done in the Hither Gaul by *C. Murena* the Governor of That Province. In the mean time *Lentulus* at *Rome* with the Rest of the Ring-Leaders of the Plot having Provided, as They thought, a Sufficient Force, Resolv'd that as soon as ever *Catiline* was advanc'd with his Army as far as *Fæsulæ*, the Tribune *L. Bestia* shou'd Harangue the People: Inveigh a-

* 'Twas usual at *Rome* for a Foreign Nation to have this or that Roman for its Patron, who took Care of its Interests.

† That on the Italian Side of the Alps.

∴ The Lower Calabria.

gainst

gainst the Proceedings of *Cicero*: And Lay the Odium of the Worst and Most Unnatural War on the Best of Consuls; Upon That Signal that the other Conspirators shou'd All rise on the following Night, and betake Themselves to their several Posts. Which were said to be assign'd 'em in this Manner: *Statilius* and *Gabinius* with a Numerous Body were to set fire to Twelve of the principal Places of the City at one time, that the Tumult and Hurry which That must Occasion might give Opportunity to Come at *Cicero*, and the rest of Those who were design'd for Slaughter. *Cethegus* was to force his House and Assassinate him. And the Rest were order'd to Attack Others. The Young Gentlemen and Heirs among 'em (who mostly Consisted of the Nobility) were to Cut the Throats of their Own Fathers. And while the whole Town was in an Uproar, and Consternation with Fire and Sword, They were All to Fight their Passage thro' the People, and make the best of their Way to *Catiline*.

In the midst of These Preparations and Resolves, *Cethegus* often Complain'd of the great Backwardness of his Fellows; Who by Irresolution and putting off Matters from Day to Day, had slipp'd a great many fair Opportunities: Adding, That 'twas Not Now a Time to Consult, but to Execute; And that if but a Few wou'd stand by him, tho' All the Rest were Faint-hearted, He wou'd go and Force the Senate-House Himself. For He was naturally Bold, Pushing, and Impetuous; and thought there was Nothing like Expedition in All Enterprizes.

But the Deputies, according to *Cicero*'s Directions, Met the Plotters, being introduc'd by *Gabinius*; and insisted to have the Solemn Oath of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Cassius*, to Carry under Seal to their Principals: Who wou'd not otherwise be prevail'd upon to engage in an Enterprize of such Import-

tance. The first Three suspecting Nothing, immediately gave it without Boggling. And *Cassius*, who was Absent, sent 'em word, He wou'd be with 'em speedily: But instead of Coming slip't out o'Town a little before the Departure of the Deputies. As to the Latter, when They set out, *Lentulus* order'd *T. Volturcius* a *Crotonian* to Accompany and Introduce 'em to *Catiline*, To Confirm the League by Exchanging Articles before They went for their own Country. He likewise deliver'd him a Letter for *Catiline*, in These Words, or to This Purpose.

‘ Who I am You will know by the Messenger that
‘ brings This. Weigh the Vast Danger You are in,
‘ and Remember You’re a Man. Consider what
‘ Your Affairs do Require, and Get the Assistance
‘ of All People, Without Neglecting the very
‘ Meanest.

He moreover gave him Verbal Instructions, to Expostulate with *Catiline* for what Reason, after the Senate had declar'd him Rebel, He shou'd refuse the Service even of Slaves? And to let him know, That All Things at *Rome* were Now ready according to his Directions; And that he shou'd not delay Marching to the City.

Matters standing in This Posture, On the Night appointed for the *Gauls* Departure, *Cicero*, who had receiv'd an Account from 'em of All that had pass'd, gave Orders to the *Prætors*, *L. Valerius Flaccus* and *C. Pomptinus*, to Plant some Troops by the † *Mulvian* Bridge, and Intercept the *Allobroges* and their Train; Acquainting Them with the secret Meaning

† Situate about two Miles from *Rome*, and now Call'd *Ponte Molle*.

of the Service ; and Bidding 'em after they were got thither to Act at Discretion, as They shou'd see Occasion. These Men, who Understood the Business of Soldiers, in a Trice without any Hurry or Disorder, dispos'd Themselves according to their Orders ; and in Close Ambush beset the Bridge. To which Place as soon as *Volturcius* and the Deputies were come, A Shout and Outcry was set up on both sides. But the *Gauls* appriz'd before of the Design, Surrender'd Themselves immediately to the *Prætors*. *Volturcius* at first Encouraging the Company, made Resistance with Sword in Hand : But finding Himself Abandon'd by the Deputies , fell presently to making Terms ; Adjuring *Pomptinus*, with whom He was Acquainted , to Use All his Interest for saving him. And, in fine , fearing to lose his Life by an Opposition to no Purpose , Yielded Himself to the *Prætors* at Discretion.

Having thus happily Executed their Commission, They dispatch'd an Account of it immediately to *Cicero* ; Who was now Seiz'd and Agitated with the Passions of an Extraordinary Joy and Concern at the same time. Glad he was that the Commonwealth was so far deliver'd from its Danger by a Full Detection of the Conspiracy against it. But then he was in a great Perplexity what to do in so Ticklish an Affair, wherein Such Great Men wou'd be found to be Manifestly Guilty of the Blackest Treason against their Country. For on the One Hand, He knew very well that by a Prosecution He shou'd make Himself Enemies : And on the Other, To suffer 'em to go off with Impunity, might perhaps prove the Ruin of the Government. Upon which latter Consideration, at last assuming Courage and Resolution , He gave Orders for the Summoning before him *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius* and *Sabinus*, together with *Ceparius* the *Tarracинian* ; who was

was just preparing to go for *Apulia*, to sollicit an Insurrection of the Slaves. The first Four instantly attended: But *Ceparius* slipping out of his House a little before, had left the City upon some Notice that the Plot was discover'd. The Consul taking *Lentulus* by the Hand, in regard he was *Prætor* at that time, led Him into the Senate Himself. But the other Three He sent under a Guard to the Temple of *Concord*: To which Place he Conven'd the Fathers; And in a Full House Commanded *Volturcius* with the *Gaulish* Deputies to be brought in; and the *Prætor* *Flaccus* to produce the Pacquet of Letters he had taken from the said Deputies. *Volturcius* being Examin'd about the Design of his Journey, and the Letters, fram'd at first Prevaricating Stories, and endeavour'd to shift off the Busines of the Plot; But at last being Order'd to Unfold the Truth, and Assur'd of his Pardon by the Publick Faith, He laid Open the Bottom of the Contrivance: Adding, That Himself had been drawn into it but a few Days before by *Gabinius* and *Ceparius*: But that he knew no further Particulars of it than the Deputies did; Only that he had often heard from *Gabinius*, That *P. Autronius*, *Ser. Sulla*, *L. Vargunteius*, and a Great Many Others were Engag'd in the Combination. The Deputies gave the same Account. But *Lentulus* notwithstanding, when He came to be Interrogated, Dissembling the Whole Matter of the Charge; Over and above the Evidence of the Letters, They prov'd the Thing Corroboratively upon him, by the following Speeches which He was wont to give out: 'That the Empire of *Rome* was Assur'd by the Prophetick Books of the *Sybils* to Three *Cornelij*: That *Cinna* and *Sylla* had already made Good the Prediction; That He was the Third for whom the Fates had Reserv'd the Dominion of the Republick; And furthermore, That the Twentieth

tieth Year from the Burning of the Capitol was
Now Arriv'd :" Which according to the Sooth-sayers, (Grounding their Presages upon several Prodigies) was like to be Remarkable for Civil Confusion and Extraordinary Bloodshed. Whereupon, Causing the Letters to be Read, and the Plotters All owning Their Signets, the Senate Came to a Resolution, That *Lentulus* shou'd be degraded from his Office, and with the other Criminals put into Custody in the Hands of several Persons of the Magistracy. Upon which, *Lentulus* was Committed to *P. Lentulus Spinther*, who was *Ædile*; *Cetbegus* to *Q. Cornificius*; *Statilius* to *C. Caesar*; *Gabinius* to *Crassus*; and *Ceparius*, who happen'd to be taken in his Flight, and brought back but a little before, was deliver'd to the Keeping of *Cn. Terentius* the Senator.

But the Populace, now the Conspiracy was discover'd, tack'd about from their Desires of Change, which had made 'em wish for an Insurrection, and fell to Cursing *Catiline* and his Plot; Extoll'd the Consul *Cicero* to the Skies; And were Nothing else but Triumph and Joy, as a People rescu'd from an Imminent Slavery. For Other Wars, as They apprehended, instead of proving Prejudicial to Them, wou'd bring 'em Great Advantages by Plunder; But They look'd upon Firing of Cities to be Barbarous, and the Next Way to Ruin Themselves: Whose Whole Estates Consisted only of the Cloaths on their Backs, and some Household Stuff that was every Day's Use.

The next Day one *L. Tarquinius*, who was said to be taken Going to *Catiline*, was brought before the Senate: And offering to make a Discovery of the Plot upon Giving the Publick Faith to Indempnify him, And being thereupon encourag'd by the Consul and Commanded to Declare All that he knew, He gave the same Account in a manner as *Volturcius* had

had done, about the Design of Firing the City ; The Massacring the Chief Friends of the Government ; And the Marching of the Rebels towards the City. Adding , That He was sent by *M. Crassus*, to Exhort *Catiline* Not to be discourag'd at the Seizing of *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the Others ; but the more to hasten his Approach to the City , both to Rescue Them out of the Jeopardy They were in, and to Revive the Spirits of the whole Party. As soon as *Tarquinius* had mention'd *Crassus*, a Man of Figure and Vast Riches, and of Mighty Interest in the Common-Wealth, Some believ'd it an Idle Story ; but Others suspecting the Thing true, Yet being of Opinion that They ought rather in so Dangerous a Conjunction as That was , to Prevent the Resentment of so Formidable a Person , by Treating him Tenderly , than to Enrage or Exasperate him ; join'd with the Rest, upon whom *Crassus* had a Hank on the Score of their Private Concerns with him , and cry'd out that the Witness was a Lyar : Demanding to have it put to the Question. Whereupon 'twas Resolv'd by a Great Majority , *Cicero* Himself leading the Way, That They look'd on *Tarquinius*'s Evidence as False. For which They Order'd him into Close Custody, without Hopes of any Enlargement Unless He wou'd discover by whose Advice He was put upon Framing such a Sham Accusation. There were some at That Time of Opinion, that this Impeachment was Contriv'd by *P. Atranius*, To induce *Crassus*, seeing He was Nam'd Himself as an Accomplice, and involv'd in the same Common Danger with the True Conspirators , to Protect 'em by His Interest. But Others reported, That *Tarquinius* was suborn'd in the Matter by the Consul, To prevent *Crassus* from standing up in the Defence of Villany, as he us'd to do, and thereby Embroiling the Commonwealth. I Confess I have heard

heard *Crassus* Himself Declare, that the Affront was put upon him by *Cicero*. This is Certain that *Q. Catulus* and *C. Piso* were not able at the same time by any Importunities, Interest, or Bribes to prevail upon *Cicero* To let *C. Cæsar* be Impeach'd falsely by the Gaulish Deputies or Any Body else. You must know *Q. Catulus* and *C. Piso* Both were Avow'd and Mortal Enemies of *C. Cæsar*. The Latter, because *Cæsar* was his Prosecutor, when He once happen'd to be Try'd for Bribery about Unjustly putting to Death of a Certain Inhabitant o't'other side of the *Po*: And the First had Harbour'd a Pique against him, for that *C. Cæsar*, a Young Novice, in the Competition for the Chief Pontificate had carry'd it from Him in his Old Age, and after he had Enjoy'd the Highest Offices. And They look'd upon this as a Fair Opportunity for bringing *Cæsar* under Suspicion: In regard that what By a most Excessive Liberality in making Private Presents, and what in Publick Gifts and Largeffes He had Contracted Many and Vast Debts. But when They found That They were not Able to persuade the Consul to such a Villanous Thing, They went Themselves from One Place to Another, and by Whispering Stories of Divers Matters pretended to come from *Volturcius* and the *Gauls*, Drew a mighty Odium upon him. Insomuch That some of the *Roman* Knights, who were set to Guard the Temple of *Concord*, Mov'd by the Consideration of the Danger, or the Fickleness of their Minds that were grown Loyal, and To Assert Their New Zeal for the Publick, Flourish'd their Drawn Swords at *Cæsar*, and Threaten'd him as He Came out of the Senate.

While the House was Busy in the Matters I have mention'd; and Voting Gratuities to the *Gauls* and *Volturcius* for the True and Important Discovery They had made, *Lentulus*'s Clients and Freed Men taking different

different Roads out of *Rome* Went to the Villages, to sollicite the Slaves and handycraft Fellows to Rescue their Master ; While Others sought out every where for the Ring-Leaders or Captains of the Mob : Who us'd to be hir'd to raise Disturbances. *Cetbegus* likewise dispatch'd Messengers to his Family and Freed Men, who were pick't Fellows, and train'd up to Desperate Enterprizes, To beseech 'em to Form Themselves into a Body, and to Force his Guard and Deliver him from Confinement. The Consul being inform'd of These Preparations for a Rescue, set Guards, as the Juncture of Time and Occasion requir'd. And Convening the Senate, put the Question, What shou'd be done with the Plotters in Custody ? For it had been Resolv'd but a little before by a Full House that They were Guilty of the Conspiracy. Upon This Motion *D. Junius Silanus*, who was first requir'd to Give his Opinion , in regard He was Then Consul Elect, Voted Not only for the putting to death of Those Persons who were already in Custody, but in like manner of *L. Cassius*, *P. Furius*, *P. Umbrenus*, and *Q. Annus*, if They shou'd happen to be taken. But being afterwards soften'd by *C. Cæsar*'s Harangue, He joyn'd with the Vote of *Tiberius Nero* : Who Declar'd for Adjourning the Debate of the Matter , after having first sternothen'd the Guards. But when the Consul came round to *C. Cæsar*, He spoke zo the Question in This manner.

‘ It becomes All, most illustrious Fathers ! who
‘ have Cases before 'em for Debate and Judgment,
‘ To Divest themselves of the several Passions of
‘ Love , Hatred , Compassion , and Revenge. For
‘ the Mind Can hardly discern the Truth , when
‘ These Affe&ctions stand in the Way. Nor has ever
‘ the Gratifying a Darling Inclination been made to
‘ Consift

‘ Consist with the Good of the Publick at the same time. If we make use of a Freedom of Reason, Our Reason will serve us to good purpose ; but if we suffer Passion to possess us, That will become our Master and Ride Us. ’Twere easy to give a Detail from History, that is thick sown with Examples and Precedents of what Monarchs and what People under the Influence of a Tender Pity or too warm Resentment have Determin’d Unfortunately. But I’ll rather give some Contrary Instances, wherein Our Ancestors have bravely Acted in Opposition to Their Private Passions. In the War which We carry’d on against *Perseus*, King of *Macedonia*, the City of *Rhodes*, that was grown Great by the sole Favour and Assistance of the *Romans*, prov’d Perfidious and Turn’d Our Enemy. And yet after the War was Concluded, and the *Rhodians* Ingratitude Came to be Consider’d, Our Generous Ancestors, To prevent the Calumny of Their Entring into War for the sake of Gain, rather than of doing Themselves Justice, Dismiss’d the *Rhodians* with an Act of Oblivion. Again, in the several *Punick Wars*, Tho’ the *Carthaginians* Even after a Peace as also under the Umbrage of Treaties were often Guilty of most Villanous Practices, Yet Our Ancestors never thought it became ’em to make use of any Opportunity of Retaliating the same Things upon Them ; but were more Concern’d for their Own Generosity, than to take such Measures as They might have done in strict Justice against a Treacherous Enemy. In like manner, most Augusta Fathers ! It becomes You to be as much sollicitous for the preservation of Your Own Honour, as punishing the Villany of *Lentulus* and his Crew ; and to make it appear that You are not more Intent upon satisfying Your Own Resentments, than maintaining the Reputation of Your Conduct. For My

‘ Own

‘ Own part, if there’s any Punishment Can be found
‘ out that May Answer their Deserts , I shall Vote
‘ for inflicting it, how New soever. But if the Tre-
‘ son be much too Big for All the Severities We can
‘ Ever invent, ’Tis My Opinion We shall do best to
‘ Content Our selves with such Methods as the Laws
‘ in being may supply us with. Several Members,
‘ who have spoke before Me, have thought it worth
‘ the while to Entertain You with very Pompous and
‘ Passionate Orations on the sad Condition of the
‘ Commonwealth. They ’ve Enumerated all the Ca-
‘ lamities of War, and reckon’d up the Misfortunes
‘ of the Conquer’d : Such as Ravishing of Youths
‘ and Virgins : Tearing Infants from the Breasts of
‘ their Mothers : Forcing Matrons to submit Them-
‘ selves to the Brutal Pleasure of Insulting Soldiers :
‘ Plund’ring and Destroying Houses and Temples :
‘ Nothing to be seen but Fire and Sword : And in a
‘ Word, Every Corner fill’d with Arms and Carcasses,
‘ with Blood and Lamentation. But to what purpose
‘ in the Gods Name is All this long and particular
‘ Harangue ? Is it to kindle Your Abhorrence of the
‘ Plot ? Yes, for the Men whom the most Outrage-
‘ ous and Abominable Enterprize Cannot Incense,
‘ must (forsooth) be Fir’d by the Breath of a Speech !
‘ But alas ! the Matter is quite otherwise : And None
‘ is so much his Own Enemy, as to Think slightly of
‘ Ills intended him. So far from it, That Most Men
‘ are but too sensible and apt to Resent. Moreover,
‘ All, most Honourable Fathers ! have not the same
‘ Freedom in their Actions. Faults Committed thro’
‘ Passion by Those who live Obscurely in a low
‘ Sphere Arrive to the Notice of but very Few ; For
‘ the Fame and Fortunes of such Men are most com-
‘ monly of the same Extent. But the Acts of Those
‘ in a High Orb, and who hold the Sovereignty of
‘ States or Kingdoms are known and Censur’d by the
‘ Whole

whole World ; In so much that the most sublime Station allows always the least Liberty. There's scarce permission for Love or Hatred, but None at all for Revenge or Fury. And That will pass for a piece of Haughtiness and Tyrannick Cruelty in such as Govern, which only Goes by the Slight Name of a Fit of Anger in other Men. For My Own part, most Venerable Fathers ! I think That All the Tortures in the Universe are too little for their Execrable Treason. But pray Consider, 'tis the Way of Most to remember only the last Things : And no sooner have Any Malefactors suffer'd, but Forgetting the Crimes for which they were Condemn'd to't; They Talk of Nothing but the Grievous Punishment, if it was but any way severer than Ordinary. I am thoroughly satisfy'd that what *D. Silanus*, a Man of Honour and great Gallantry, has been pleas'd to offer to This House, proceeded from True Affection to his Country. For I know so much of his Probity and Candor, as to Rest upon it, That He is not sway'd by Favour or Prejudice in This high Debate. But still I must take leave to Declare that His Vote, which I think not too hard at all (For what Hardship can possibly be put upon such Delinquents as ate Now before You ?) is Yet Unprecedented by Our Constitution. Sure *Silanus* ! 'twas either Fear, or the Blackness of Their Crime that prevail'd upon You to Vote for inflicting a New Punishment. But the First I need not Demonstrate Groundless, when the Conduct and Diligence of Our Noble Consul has provided such Good Guards for Securing us ; And as to the Punishment propos'd for them, I cou'd tell You that Death will be far from One : That instead thereof 'tis a Friend to Misery ; That it Ends the Cares of Mortals for ever ; And that beyond it there's neither Torment nor Joy. But for what reason in the Gods

‘ Name did You not make it a part of your Sentence
‘ that the Prisoners shou’d be scourg’d before They
‘ were Executed ? Was it out of respect to the *Porci-*
‘ *an* Law, that prohibits *Romans* to be so us’d ? If so,
‘ We have other Laws that Exempt a Convict Citi-
‘ zen from Death, and allow him the benefit of be-
‘ ing Banish’d. Or was it because Whipping
‘ was a worse Punishment than Death ? But, I
‘ pray, what Can be too severe to be inflicted on such
‘ as are found Guilty of so Foul a Conspiracy against
‘ Their Country ? On the other hand, if You thought
‘ it too Light, How Come You to be so obser-
‘ vant of the Law that Ordains a lesser Penalty, and
‘ Neglect That which appoints a Greater. But You’ll
‘ say who Can ever presume to find fault with the
‘ strictest Sentence pronounc’d against such a Crew
‘ of Parricides ? I Answer, Time may perhaps do it;
‘ and Fortune the Governess of this World may make
‘ You See and Rue Your Mistake. For These Men,
‘ The severest Vote You Can pass against ’em Can
‘ be Nothing but Justice. But consider, I pray, most
‘ serene Fathers ! of what Consequence it may be to
‘ Others. All the Unwarrantable Actions in the
‘ World pretend to be Grounded on some Precedents
‘ that were possibly Justifiable when They were
‘ made. And when the Government Comes into
‘ the hands of Undistinguishing or Arbitrary Men,
‘ The Precedent passes from a Just and Discerning to
‘ That Unqualify’d and Lawless Administration.
‘ The *Lacedæmonians* having Vanquish’d the *Athenians*
‘ appointed a Regeney of Thirty Tyrants to Ma-
‘ nage the Government of the Republick. These
‘ Regents began at first to put to death without a
‘ Conviction only the Known Villains amongst ’em,
‘ and such as were hated by the whole City. Where-
‘ upon the People were highly pleas’d, and applauded
‘ the Justice of their Executions. But after the Ty-
‘ rants

rants were a little Flesh't, They went on in a most Arbitrary manner to Butcher the best Men of the City, Without Distinction of Good or Bad : And put All under Equal Terror. In so much that the Commonwealth was reduc'd to Groan under the most Miserable Bondage : And paid severely for their Foolish Joy. But To go no farther than Our Own Time, After *Sylla* had assum'd the Government, and Given Orders for putting to the Sword *Damasippus* and Others of That Gang, who had rais'd Themselves by the Troubles of the Publick, Who was there that did not Cry up the Righteousness of the Fact ? Such Seditious and Restless Fellows who were always Embroiling the Commonwealth, They Declar'd were deservedly put to Death. But alas ! This very Proceeding prov'd a Step to a Bloody Massacre. For Every One, that had but an Eye on the House, Lands, or Effects of Another, Went immediately to get him put in the List of the Proscrib'd. And the very Men, who rejoic'd so much at the Just Punishment of *Damasippus*, had the ill Fate but a while after to be Dragg'd Themselves to the same Death. Nor was there an End of Cutting o'Throats till after *Sylla* had Enrich'd his Crew with the Spoils and Property of Unhappy Men. I am not under the least Jealousy of *M. Tullius*'s Proceedings, or the present Ministry ; But in large and Populous Governments, like Our's, there are People of different Characters and Designs. And 'tis very possible at another time, and under the Management of a New Consul, Who perhaps too may be Master of an Army, the Greatest Innocence may pass for Treason. And when in the View of This Precedent : And Invested with Full Power by the Senate, Such a Consul shall have drawn the Sword, Who shall Moderate it ? Who shall Command

‘it? Our Ancestors, most illustrious Fathers! Ne-
‘ver Wanted either Council or Courage. And Yet
‘Their Pride was Never so Great as to keep ‘em
‘from following the Customs of Foreigners, when
‘They found ‘em Worthy to be put in practice.
‘They Imported the Use of several Weapons of War
‘from the *Samnites*. They Borrow’d a great part of
‘their Ensigns of Power from the *Tuscans*. In fine,
‘They Adopted and put in Execution Whatever
‘They saw Useful or Remarkable among their Al-
‘lies or Enemies Themselves; And Chose rather to
‘Imitate than Envy All whom They found to be
‘praise-worthy. Pursuant to which Practice of Imi-
‘tation They Observ’d for a while That Law of the
‘*Græcians* for inflicting Stripes on Citizens Them-
‘selves, and adjudging Death to Capital Offenders.
‘But after the State was become populous, and the
‘Number of Citizens begat Factions, It prov’d the
‘Occasion of great Inconveniences, and oftentimes
‘of spilling the Blood, or severely punishing of In-
‘nocent People. The preventing of which gave
‘Rise to the *Porcian Statute*, and the other Laws
‘that allow’d of Banishment for the Highest
‘Crimes. Now I take it that This Example of
‘Caution in Our Fore-Fathers is of great Weight to
‘disswade Us from making a New Precedent. For
‘surely the Wisdom and Conduct of such as rais’d
‘the Republick to so much Greatness from the most
‘Humble and Difficult Circumstances was beyond
‘Any that We Can pretend to, Who scarce are A-
‘ble to preserve the Dominion which They had the
‘Glory to Acquire from Nothing. You will ask me
‘then, Is it My Opinion that These Malefactors
‘shou’d be set at Liberty, to add to the Number of
‘*Catiline’s Army*? No, I am not for any such
‘Thing; But I think that the Prudentest Course
‘may be This: To Confiscate and Set to Sale their
‘Estates,

Estates, and Confine their Persons in Close Custody in such of the Franchise Towns as are strongest or most Responsible for their forth Coming ; And to enjoyn that None hereafter shall presume to Sollicite either Senate or People in the Matter, Under the Penalty of being Adjudg'd to have Acted against the Peace of the Publick.

After *Cæsar* had Concluded his Speech the Rest that follow'd declar'd their Concurrence, Some by one Way, and Some by Another, with such Votes as They severally approv'd of. But when *Cato* was demanded his Senſe, He deliver'd it in such Words as Enſue.

I must be of a quite different Opinion, most illustrious Fathers ! from what has been said, when I think of the Dangerous Juncture We are in, and Consider withal the surprizing Discourses of some Members who have spoken before Me. They have seem'd to make the Question to be, In what manner You will punish Villains, who have Entered into a bloody Design against their Parents, their Country and Our All. When alas ! the present Posture of Things presses us rather to take Measures against the Succeeding of This Conspiracy, than to fit Consulting in what Way to punish the Authors. We have time enough to Animadvert upon Other Offences after They're Committed ; But This Design is of such a Nature, that Unless We Crush it in the First place, 'twill be too late, to Debate about Punishments. Nor shou'd We have any Thing left to help us, should They make Themselves but Masters of the City. In the Name Then of the Immortal Gods, I now Call upon You, O Fathers ! who have Ever preferr'd your Villa's, your Statues, and your Pictures to the Good of the

‘ Commonwealth : If You desire to Continue Owners of These Valuables, Such as They Are : If to pursue Your Pleasures securely, Awake at last and Rescue the Republick. ’Tis not petty Tribute or Taxes : ’Tis not Injuries done or receiv’d by any Ally that We are Now upon ? ’Tis Life, ’tis Liberty, ’tis All that’s at Stake. I have often spoke most illustrious Fathers ! before Now in this Honourable House : I have often taken the freedom to Complain of the Luxury and Avarice that prevail amongst us. By Doing which I have drawn on My Self the ill will of a great Many Citizens. But I, who have Never given Quarter to any Misdemeanors in My self, Cou’d ill Brook the Vices of Others. And tho’ You made but little Account of all My Remonstrances on That Head, Yet the Republick Continu’d Firm, and maintain’d it self by its Own Greatness in spite of All the Negligence of its Members. But the Question at This time is Not, Whether Our Manners shall be Good or Bad : Nor to what a Pitch of Glory or Power the *Roman* Empire shall be Carry’d by Us ; but whether the Things We are Now Masters of shall be longer Our’s, or a Prey to Parricides. And shall any Man once offer to Mention such a Thing as Clemency at This time o’ Day ? But I find We have long since lost the True Names and Appellations of Things. To Give away Other Men’s Goods or Estates is (forsooth) Generosity in This Age. And to such a Degree of Corruption are We fallen ! That to be Daring in Villany is Now to be Gallant. Well ! since Their Disposition is such, Let ’em Lavish away the Estates of their Friends : Let ’em also give up Your Treasury to be pillag’d ; But then Let ’em Never Dispose of our Blood ; And while They appear so extremely Zealous for saving the Lives of a Few Villains, Let us not suffer ’em to obtain their

‘ End

‘ End in Destruction of All Honest Men. C. Cæsar
‘ has just now been Haranguing You very Philoso-
‘ phically upon Life and Death ; Looking ,
‘ I perceive , upon All as a Sham , that is
‘ told us Concerning the Being of a Hell ,
‘ where the Wicked at a great Distance from the
‘ Good are shut up Everlasting Prisoners in the most
‘ Disconsolate and Dolorous Mansions. And He’s
‘ therefore for Seizing and Selling their Estates, and
‘ Confining their Persons in the Franchized Towns,
‘ for fear , You must know , that Their Remaining
‘ in *Rome* may give Opportunity to their Own Par-
‘ ty , or a Hir’d Mob in the City to Rescue ’em ;
‘ As if *Rome* were the only Place for Rogues, and
‘ there were not Enough of ’em through All *Italy* :
‘ Or as if the Attempts of a Daring Crew were not
‘ likely to be most prevailing , where there is the
‘ least Strength to Oppose ’em. This is then most
‘ Impertinent Advice , if he looks upon the Prison-
‘ ers as Dangerous People. But if in This General
‘ and Just Consternation He is the Only Man that’s
‘ Secure and Unapprehensive of any Peril, it Con-
‘ cerns Me , most Illustrious Fathers ! to look the
‘ better to My Self and You. Be assur’d that at
‘ the same time You determine the Fate of *P. Len-*
‘ *tulus* and his Fellow-Prisoners , You decide That
‘ of *Catiline’s* Army, and of All the Conspirators in
‘ This Plot. The Brisker You are in Your Resolu-
‘ tions , the greater Discouragement will You give
‘ to Your Enemies : But if once They see You but
‘ faint-hearted , or baulking the Vigor which You
‘ ought to Exert , You will find ’em All to Come
‘ on like Lyons. Never think ’twas by Force of
‘ Arms that Our Forefathers Advanc’d the Repub-
‘ lic from a Low Condition to its After-Greatness.
‘ Had That been so , We shou’d have it by Conse-
‘ quence at the Top of Grandeur at This Time.

‘ For Now in Alliances, in Number of People, and
‘ in Magazines and Provisions of War, We are in-
‘ finitely Stronger and better Furnish’d than ever
‘ Our Ancestors cou’d pretend to be. No, They
‘ were Things of a different Nature that made Our
‘ Predecessors so Formidable, and which have not
‘ descended to Us their Posterity: The Virtues of
‘ Industry, Discipline, and Justice in All their Af-
‘ fairs both at Home and Abroad, and a Brave and
‘ Disinterested Spirit in Counsel, Nor Conscious of
‘ having a Share in Guilt, nor led away by a Lust
‘ after Power. For These Qualities, We have Lu-
‘ xury and Avarice; We have Publick Want, and
‘ Private Abundance. We Admire Riches; Indulge
‘ to Laziness; Put no Distinction in the World be-
‘ tween a Man of Worth and a Rascal; and make
‘ All the Rewards of Virtue become the Possession
‘ and Recompence of Ambition. But This need
‘ not be much wondred at, when You All Consult
‘ Your Separate Interests; Live at Home in Slavery
‘ to Your Lusts; And are Govern’d Here by Profit
‘ or Favour. And thence it is that a Knot of Bra-
‘ voes, the Common-Wealth being thus deserted,
‘ are embolden’d to make their Attempts upon Her.
‘ But to dwell no longer on These Things, The
‘ Affair before Us is shortly This: Some of the
‘ Greatest Citizens among Us have Contriv’d the
‘ Destruction of their own Countrey: And to Back
‘ the Design, have dealt with the *Gauls*, the most
‘ Implacable Enemies of the *Romans*, to Revolt and
‘ once more take up their Arms: While the Arch-
‘ Conspirator with an Army of Rebels is advanc’d
‘ almost to our very Throats. And is this a Time
‘ to dally or debate how You shall deal with a Crew
‘ of Cut-Throats You have taken within Your Own
‘ Walls? But I think I had best advise You to pity
‘ ‘em: They are Young Men, whose Offence has
‘ pro-

‘ proceeded only from a little Fit of Ambition ;
‘ And therefore You may e’en think it Convenient
‘ to give ‘em their Swords again, and dismiss ‘em.
‘ But Assure Your Selves, This Ridiculous Mercy,
‘ if They once come but to feel their Weapons,
‘ will be quickly Repaid You with Ruin and Repen-
‘ tance. We are at This time in the midst of the
‘ Dangerousest Circumstances in the whole World :
‘ But perhaps You are not Afraid at all ! Yes, but
‘ You are, and to the Last Degree ! But through
‘ a dastardly Softness or Laziness of Spirit sit look-
‘ ing One upon Another, Expecting who shou’d be-
‘ stir Himself first : Or You lift up Your Eyes to
‘ the Immortal Gods, Depending (forsooth) upon
‘ Assistance from Those who have so often deliver’d
‘ Your Republick from the Greatest of Straits. But
‘ alas ! the Help of the Immortal Gods is not to be
‘ fetch’d down by Wishes or Womanish Supplications.
‘ No ! ’Tis Vigilance that begets Deliverance. ’Tis
‘ Resolving Wisely, and Acting Courageously, by
‘ which Every Thing goes well. But if You A-
‘ bandon to Sloth or Cowardice, Never have the
‘ Face to Invoke the Gods, for They’ll be Affronted
‘ and become Your Enemies. In the Days of our
‘ Ancestors, *A. Manlius Torquatus* pass’d a Sentence
‘ on his own Son for Fighting an Enemy against
‘ Orders ; And that Extraordinary Young Man was
‘ punish’d with Death for no other Offence than
‘ Exerting a Courage too Forward and Unseasona-
‘ ble. And Can You lose Time in Deliberating
‘ what to do with the most Barbarous Parricides ?
‘ Yes ! For the Innocence of their Lives before may
‘ be Weigh’d against the Present Offence. Agreed
‘ then : And by all Means treat with Regard the
‘ Dignity of *Lentulus*, if He Himself has ever had
‘ any to his Own Reputation, his Own Chastity, if
‘ he has ever valu’d the Gods or Men. And pardon
‘ the

the Rash Youth of *Cetbegus*, if This be not the Second time he has engag'd in Rebellion against his Country. What need I proceed to any Remarks on the Conduct of *Gabinius*, *Statilius*, and *Ceparius*, Who had never embark'd in so Execrable a Design, if They had had any Sense of, or Respect to any Thing? But to spare my Breath, most Illustrious Fathers! If the Execution of this Conspiracy were not to be follow'd with the Fatalest Consequences, You shou'd buy Your Conviction from the Experience of Things, because You have so little a Deference for Words. But We are Now surrounded on All Sides. *Catiline* at the Head of an Army from Without is Advancing towards Our Very Throats. And Others We have within Our Walls, and in Our own Bosoms, who are ready to dispatch Us. Not a Secret Resolution can be taken: No Private Preparations can be made: And therefore We ought to be the more Speedy. 'Tis my Opinion in short then, That since by the detestable Plottings of Villains the Publick is brought into so much Jeopardy; And These Men upon the Evidence of *T. Volturcius* and the *Gaulish* Deputies have been found Guilty of a Wicked Design (which They have own'd in a manner) to Burn, Massacre, Ravage and Destroy their own Country and Fellow-Citizens, a Capital Punishment ought, according to the Way of Our Ancestors, to be inflicted upon 'em, as Ruffians Convicted of the most Capital Crimes.

No sooner had *Cato* Concluded his Speech, but All the Consular Members in the House, and a Great Part of the Senate besides highly applauded the Vigor of his Vote; Extolling his Virtue and Bravery to the Skies, but Upbraiding their Fellows with Pufflanimity. In a Word, *Cato* was the Only Man with

with 'em for a Hero, a Patriot, and a Gallant *Roman*: And a Decree was made according to his Sentence. And here you must give me Leave to acquaint you, That being a Man who had read much, and moreover heard a World of Things of the Vast Atchievements of the *Roman* People, in War and Peace, and by Sea and Land; I was very desirous to find out what it was that laid the Foundation, and Supported the Greatness of such Performances. I well knew that They had often fought and baffled Mighty Armies of Enemies with a very Scanty Number of Forces: I knew, with the like Company of Men and a very inconsiderable Treasure, They had Carry'd on a Successful War against the Wealthiest and most Powerful Princes; Then, That they had oftentimes Experienc'd the Violent Shocks of an Adverse Fortune, and yet always kept up their Heads; And last of all, I was yet sensible that the *Gauls* were better Soldiers than the *Romans*, and that the *Greeks* surpass'd 'em in Wit and Eloquence. And after several Thoughts and Researches, I perceiv'd at last It was All Owing to the Great Conduct of a Few Persons of Transcendent Virtue: Whose Wonderful Discipline made Poverty Triumph over Riches, and a Handful of Men to be too Many for Thousands. But at length Came in the Mischievous Vices of Luxury and Sloth to Debauch the Republick; In spite of which the Empire, 'tis true, Supported It Self and All the Corruptions of its Magistrates and Commanders, by the Mere Force of its Own Greatness; But then, like a Mother that's past Bearing, the City of *Rome* for Ages together had not Vigor enough left to produce Any One Great Man. Yet within the Compass of my Time there have been, after so long an Interval, Two of most Extraordinary Virtues, yet Different Characters, *M. Cato* and *C. Cæsar*. Now because the Occasion is so

Fair,

Fair, I am very unwilling to baulk it by Silence, and shall here therefore Address my Self to Describe the Genius and Manners of Both, with all the Justness I am Capable of.

To begin then: Their Descent, Their Years, and Their Eloquence were pretty near an Equality; They had also the same Greatness of Mind, and made the like Acquisitions in Glory: But then the Way which They trac'd it in, and obtain'd the Possession, was entirely different. *Cæsar* render'd Himself Famous by a Vast Munificence and Generous Bounty; *Cato* made Himself as Esteem'd by a most Unblemish'd Integrity of Life. *Cæsar* Recommended Himself by a Condescension and Clemency of Temper; *Cato* became as much Rever'd for the strict Severity of his Disposition. One by Conferring, by Assisting, by Pardonning, Attracted an Universal Respect; And the Other obtain'd the same Reputation, by the Frugal Virtue of Lavishing away Nothing. In *Cæsar* the Wretched had always a Sanctuary; In *Cato* the Villanous met with a Scourge. The First procur'd Himself Approbation by a most Obliging Easiness of Nature; And the Latter purchas'd an Equal Renown by a most Immoveable Constancy of Spirit. *Cæsar*, in fine, by his Resolution and continual Practice was for Labour and Watchings: All his Own Affairs were neglected, and He minded entirely the Interests of his Friends. He deny'd, moreover, Nothing to Any that was in his Power to Bestow upon 'em, and Worth the Acceptance of the Man he oblig'd: He always wish'd for a New War; Thirsted impatiently after a Command; And long'd to be at the Head of an Army for an Opportunity to Distinguish his Valour, and Exert his Abilities to the Utmost Advantage. But as for *Cato* on the other hand, He made it his Business

ness to be Contented, to be Just, and above all things to be Inexorable to Vice. He never Contended with the Wealthy in Riches, nor Vy'd with the Factious to make himself Uppermost; But then with a Virtuous and Noble Emulation, He disputed for Bravery with the most Valiant: He Rival'd the Chastest in matter of Modesty; and strove to Outdo the most Moderate in Abstinence: In a Word, He was more Concern'd for the Substance than the bare Reputation or Semblance of Virtue. But the less Fond He appear'd of Glory, the more did She follow and Force Herself upon him.

As soon as the House had pass'd a Decree upon *Cato's* Vote, the Consul thinking it most Advisable to make sure of That Very Night, for fear that some Contrivance or another might be set o' foot before it was over to hinder the Effect of their Resolution, Issu'd his Warrant to the Capital Triumvirs, to get all Things ready immediately for Executing the Plotters. *Cicero* Himself, after posting the Guards, Conducted *Lentulus* to the Common Prison: And the Others were severally led by the Prætors. In the Gaol, on a little Descent to the Left, and about some Twelve Foot under Ground, is a Place that's call'd † *Tullianum*, or the Dungeon; which is Wall'd in on every side, Secur'd by an Arch of Stone over head, and perfectly Dark, Noisome and Frightful; Into which *Lentulus* being put down, the Lictors according to their Orders strangled him. Thus fell That Great Patrician, descended of the Illustrious Family of the *Cornelij*, after having had the Honour to Enjoy the Office of Consul in the *Roman* State: And by so Falling met with a Death that was due to

† From *K. Tullus*, who is said to have added it to the Prison.

the Execrable Deeds of his Life. In the same manner were also dispatch'd *Cethegus, Statilius, Gabinius* and *Ceparius*.

During These Transactions at *Rome*, *Catiline* out of the Forces rais'd by himself, and by *Mallius*, Form'd an Army of Two * Legions: Filling up the † Cohorts that Compos'd 'em as far as the Numbers he had wou'd reach to. And then as Any of his Own Friends or other Voluntiers did Come in to him, He dispers'd 'em equally through each Cohort. By which Means in a little time He saw both his Legions compleat; Whereas at his first taking the Field, He had not above Two Thousand Men. But of These no more than a Fourth Part were furnish'd with the Regular Weapons of Soldiers. The Rest, as with what Came next to hand, were Arm'd only with Javelins, Pitchforks, or Stakes Pointed and Harden'd at the End. But as soon as *Antonius* approach'd with his Army, *Catiline* made his Marches by the Hills, Advanc'd sometimes towards the City, and anon directed his Motions for *Gaul*, Carefully shunning All Opportunities of being Oblig'd to Come to a Battel, because He expected in a few Days to receive Considerable Reinforcements, in Case his Confederates succeeded at *Rome*. In the mean time He refus'd to receive into Service any Vassals, who Came Flocking in prodigious Numbers at his first Rising; Depending on the Strength of his Own Party, and Judging it Disadvantageous to his Cause to Mingle the Grievances of Fugitive ∵ Slaves with the Business and Interests of Free Citizens.

* A Legion in Catiline's Time consisted of 6000 Men.

† Each Cohort should have been 555 Foot, and 66 Horse.

∴ Slaves not being suffer'd by the Laws to be in the Master with Roman Freemen.

But when the News arriv'd in the Camp of the Plot's being discover'd at *Rome*, and that *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the other Accomplices before mention'd were put to Death, Such as only the Hopes of Plunder, or Desire of Change had drawn into the War, drop't away in Considerable Numbers. *Catiline* with the Rest Retiring by long and difficult Marches over Rough Mountains, got into the Country of the **Pistorienses*; Designing to Steal from thence privately through Cross Passes into Hither *Gaul*. But *Q. Metellus Celer*, who then lay with Three Legions in the *Picene* Territory, Rightly Guessing before hand at *Catiline*'s Intentions from the Distress of his Affairs, On the first News of his March by Deserters, broke up his Camp in great hast, and posted Himself at the Foot of the Mountains, by which *Catiline* was Oblig'd to descend in his Entrance into *Gaul*. At the same time *Antonius* with his Army was not very far short of his Rear, Having follow'd the Rebels Retreat thro' Ways that were more Level and Commodious for Marching. When *Catiline* saw himself thus enclos'd by Hills and Enemies on All Sides, that Affairs ran so Counter in the City, and that there was no possibility of Flight, nor any Garison to Retire to, He thought it advisable to Hazard All. Whereupon without any more delay, Resolving to have one Brush with † *Antonius*, He plac'd himself at the Head of the Army, and Harangu'd his Soldiers in this manner.

* Situate in the Western Part of Tuscany, at the Foot of the Apennine. Now called *Pistoia*.

† Flattering himself (perhaps) that *Antonius*, as being in part Privy, or a Friend to the Conspiracy, would give him a Victory, which he could not hope for from *Q. Metellus Celer*, tho', as is said, He was weaker than *Antonius*.

‘ I have

‘ I have found by Experience, My Fellow Soldiers, that the Timorous Spirit of a true Poltron is not to be made Valiant by Words : Nor a Coward-Army to be Fir’d with Bravery by the Warmest Breath of a General’s Oration. But according as every Man’s Nature, or a Generous Discipline has infus’d into him, so much Courage and no more will be made appear in the Day of Battel. ’Tis Labour lost to address to such as won’t be inflam’d by the Thoughts of Glory, or at least Rouz’d by their Own Danger. For the very Consternation of their Minds stops their Ears against All that One Can say. Nevertheless I have thought it Convenient not only to Offer a Few Things, but to give You Moreover the True Reason of Those Resolutions I have Now taken. You All know, My Undaunted Soldiers ! what a Misfortune the Backwardness of *Lentulus* has brought on Himself and on Us too ; And how by spinning out Time here in Expecting Reinforcements from *Rome* Our intended March into *Gaul* is Cut off. You are likewise as sensible too as My self of the State Our Affairs are Now in. We have Two Armies that press us at once : One from the City, and Another from *Gaul*. Want of Provisions and other Necessaries will not permit us to remain any longer in These Parts, Were We Ever so willing. And which way soever We are minded to Go, We must Hew out Our Passage with the Swords in Our Hands. I Beseech You then to awaken Your Vigor ; To Rouze up the Utmost Resolution of Men, and Remember whenever You fall on, That in These Hands You Carry Your Glory, Your Riches, Your Honour, Your Liberty, and Your All. If We are Conquerors, We May Reckon on Every Thing : Plenty of Substance, Municipal Towns, and Colonies will All be at Our Devotion.

‘ on. But if We are baffled through a Daftardly Cowardice, We must look to have All the World for Enēmies, and no where a Shelter or Protection for Those, Who Cou’d not Insure it to Themselves by their Arms. Let Me add that Our Enemies are not Urg’d by the same pressing Necessities with Us. ’Tis for Life, ’tis for Liberty that We are to fight : ’Tis to Rescue Our Countrey from the hands of Usurpers. But Their’s is Only a Ridiculous Zeal to prop up the Power of an Overgrown Few. From the Consideration of which Motives, and Chaf’d with the Memory of Your former Exploits, You ought to be so much the more pushing. ’Twas in your Powet to have led a Disgraceful and Miserable Life in perpetual Exile. ’Twas in the Election of some of You also, having lost your Estates, to have Continu’d at *Rome*, and Meanly Depended upon Others for Bread. But because These were Things too Unworthy, and no ways fit to be born by Men, You chose to Resort to the present Measures. If you desire to be Quit of Your Choice, the Only Way You have is to be Daring: For None but a Victor Can give himself Peace; And ’tis but Meer Madness to imagine You may save Your selves by running away, or by Baulking the Use of Those Arms from which alone You should Expect Your Security. No, in a Battel the most Fearful are always Expos’d to the greatest Danger ; but Boldness guards the Valiant like a Wall. When I view but Your Persons, My Fellow Soldiers, and think on the Gallantry of Your former Atchievements, I have Confident Hopes that You will make me a Conqueror. Your Youth, Your Zeal, Your Courage are My Pledges : Beside the Distress that Your Affairs are in : Which often forces even Cowards Themselves to Assume a most desperate Resolution; For as to Our being sur-

‘ rounded with Numbers, the Straitness of the Place
‘ will secure Us sufficiently. But if after all Your
‘ most Vigorous Efforts, Fortune shou’d Envy Success
‘ to Your Valour, I beseech You only to take Care
‘ that You *Have* Your Revenge for the Lives You
‘ may part with ; And instead of being taken and
‘ Butcher’d like Sheep, Show You were resolv’d to
‘ lose ‘em like Men, and to leave to Your Enemies
‘ the Mortification of Gaining a Bloody and Deplo-
‘ rable Victory.

Having ended, and paus’d for a little time, He gave the Word for the Trumpets to Sound : and led down his Forces in Order into a Plain : Where Dismounting, He Caus’d both his Own Horses, and Every Man’s else to be sent away, To make his Soldiers the more Resolute, seeing They were All on the same Terms, and without any hope of Escaping by Flight. Then He proceeded to draw up his Army according to its Number, and the Nature of the Ground. For the Plain lying between a Ledge of Mountains on the Left, and a Wall of Craggy Rocks on the Right, He extended a Front of Eight Cohorts : And the Rest He Embattled more Close for Reserves ; From among the Latter He likewise drew out the Choice of the Centurions, and the Social Auxiliaries, Together with the Stoutest and best Arm’d of the Common Soldiers, and planted them in the Front. He assign’d to *C. Mallius* the Right Wing, and Gave the Left to a Commander of *Fæsulae*. *Catiline* Himself with his Freed Men, and Those Levies he had rais’d in the Colonies, Chose to take up his Standing by the Eagle, the same Standard that *C. Marius* was said to have made use of in the *Cimbrian War*. On the Other side, *Antonius*, who happen’d to be Then lame, and so Cou’d not be present in the Fight, gave the Command

Command of his Army to *M. Petreius*, his * Adjutant General: Who posted the Veterane Cohorts he had rais'd upon This Exigence in the Front of his Battel, and the Rest of the Forces behind for Reserves. *Antonius* however mounted his Horse, and Riding from one Rank to another, Call'd to Every Soldier by Name, and beseech'd and intreated 'em All to remember That they fought for their Altars, their Country, and their Children, against a Company of Ill-Arm'd Robbers. The General being an Old Soldier, who had serv'd for above Thirty Years in the Army as † Tribune, ∵ Präfect, Legate, or * Prätor, (and always acquitted himself with Honour,) knew Personally most of the Soldiers, was acquainted with all their Gallantest Actions, and by awakening their Memory at this Time, Inflam'd their Courage to the Highest Degree. *Petreius* having View'd and Provided for Every Thing, Order'd the Trumpets to sound the Charge: And Commanded the Cohorts to advance Leisurely. The same Thing was done by the Enemy. But as soon as They were Come near enough for the Light-Arm'd to begin the Fight; Both Armies set up a Shout, and without Trusting to Dart or Spear, Ran to Close at the same Time, and setting Foot to Foot with their Adversary, Disputed the Busines with Sword in Hand. The Veteranes Mindful of their Pristine Bravery, press'd the Rebels with Impetuous Fury, who again made as stout a Resistance. In a Word, The Battel on both Sides was Fought with the Greatest Obsturacy and Rage. *Catiline* during the whole time, attended with some of the

* Legato. The Office of Legate, seeming to answer in some respects to That of Adjutant-General, or Aid de Camp among the Moderns.

† Answering to Colonel or Major with us.

∴ Who supply'd the Place of the Legate when Absent.

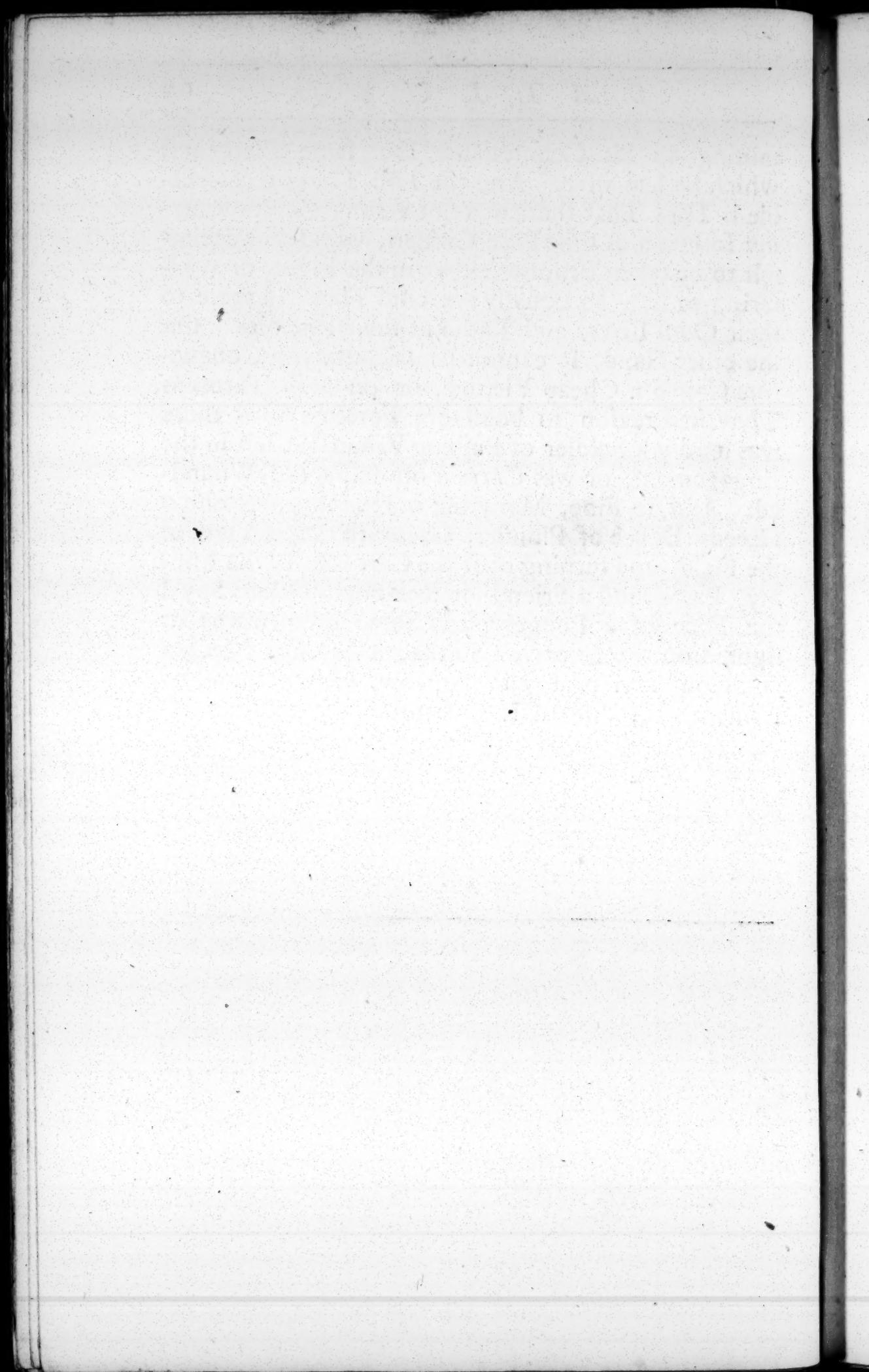
* Who, as I take it, was generally Chief Commander, when the Consul was Absent.

Briskeſt of his Followers, kept Himſelf at the Head of his Men: Sustain'd Thoſe that were Overpower'd: Supply'd the Place of the Wounded with Fresh Ones: Had a quick Eye to Every Quarter: Often Charg'd his Enemy in Person: Laid about him with the Utmoſt Vigor: and acquitted Himſelf of All the Parts of a Valiant Soldier, and Accompliſh'd General. *Petreius* finding that *Catiline* made ſuſh preſſing and Unexpedted Efforts, Advanc'd (Himſelf) with the † Praetorian Cohort, and broke in upon his Main Body. This put 'em into great Disorder: And though there were ſeveral here and there who Continu'd to make ſome little Oppoſition, Yet an Universal Slaughter enſu'd. Then He Flew on the Two Wings; Wherein *C. Mallius* and the *Fæſulane* Officer were kill'd Fighting at the Head of their Forces. When *Catiline* perceiv'd that the Day was lost, and Himſelf left with but a Handful of Men, Calling to Mind his High Quality, and the Figure he had once made in the World, He Threw himſelf into the Thickeſt of the Enemy, and was There slain with his Sword in his Hand.

When the Battel was over, 'Twas plain to ſee with what a Rage and Resolution of Spirit the whole Army of *Catiline* was Inspir'd. For Every Man of 'em, generally ſpeaking, kept poſſeſſion with his Lifeleſs Carcaſſ of the ſame Spot He was poſted in when the Fight began. Only a Few in the Main Body, who were Scatter'd by the Praetorian Cohort, lay Dispers'd in diſſerent Places, but not a Man of 'em wounded in the Back. As for *Catiline*, He was found lying at a Good Diſtance from his Own Men, among the Dead Bodies of his Enemies, ſomewhat Gaspſing, but Re-

† The Praetor's own Cohort, which was generally made up of his Friends, or other Brave Fellows.

taining in his Countenance the same Fierceness which he had alive. And the Last Thing Remarkable is This, That there was not among his Whole Army so much as One Free Citizen, who suffer'd himself to be taken Prisoner either in the Fight, or as offering to fly ; So Equally Merciful They All were to their Own Lives, and Those of their Enemies. On the other Hand, It cannot be said that the Conquerors Gain'd a Cheap Victory, or on such Terms as They had reason to boast of ; Forasmuch as there was hardly a Soldier of Pushing Valour, but fell in the Engagement, or was Carry'd off desperately Wounded. And, in Fine, Many out of Curiosity, or else a Greedy Desire of Plunder, Going to take a View of the Field, and turning over the Carcasses of the Enemy, Part found a Friend or Relation ; Others Spy'd the Face of a Lodger ; and Some there were that lighted on an Enemy. So that a Strange Medley and Confusion of Joy and Sorrow, of Triumph and Lamentation diffus'd it self through the whole Army.



THE
HISTORY
OF
Caius Crispus Sallustius:
Containing an Account of the
Jugurthine War.

IT IS a groundless Complaint which Mankind have made concerning the Condition of their Nature, that 'tis very frail, and of short duration, and govern'd more by Fortune than Virtue. So far from it, that on due reflection You will find Nothing to be more Sufficient, Nothing more Privileg'd than Man is ; who neither wants Abilities for his Work, nor Time to do it in, but only Application. For the Commander of Human Life is the Soul, who pursuing Glory through the Paths of Virtue, is always prevalent, is for ever successful : and needs none of the Aids of Fortune ; In whose Power it never was to bestow or take away Industry or Virtue, or the least brave Quality from any Man. But if This Soul seduc'd by its Passions abandons it

self to the Pleasures of the Body, and becomes a Slave to Deprav'd Habits; after the Man by such Courses has lost his Parts, his Vigor, and his Time, he falls to Taxing his Nature of Impotence; and every one, to discharge himself, is for laying the blame on the Greatness of his Work. Whereas, wou'd Men but be as intent upon those Things that improve their Minds, as they are upon such as are insignificant, nay perhaps very destructive to them, They wou'd not be so much govern'd by Fortune, as That Dame wou'd be govern'd by Them: And to such a Height of Grandeur wou'd they rise, that instead of Mortals, their present Station, They wou'd make themselves Eternal in Glory. For as the Nature of Mankind is Compounded both of Soul and Body, So all the Gifts and Atchievements of Man are agreeable to, and ensue the Condition (Some) of the latter, and (Others) of the former. And therefore Riches, a fine Face, Strength of Limbs, and the Things of that Clas, are all fading and transitory Endowments: But the Noble Productions of Wit and Genius are immortal, as the Soul from whence they proceed. As the Goods, in short, of Fortune and the Body had once an Origine, they will have a Period. The Things that flourish Now must grow old, and as They had a Beginning They will have an End: But the Soul is Incorruplicable; It is Everlasting; It governs the Affairs and Chances of the World; And It Comprehends and is Conversant with All Things; but is Free (Her Self) and Uncircumscrib'd. Which gives us the more Reason to admire the base Disposition of Those Men, who yield up themselves to the Pleasures of the Body, and devote their Lives to Debauchery or Idleness: But suffer their Souls in the mean time, tho' the Noblest and Capablest Beings in this World, to languish through Carelessness and Incultivation; espe-

especially since there are so many Ways by which the Soul may acquire Glory.

But among 'em All , I Conceive that Offices or any Concern in the Public Government, are in These Times the least to be chosen ; In Regard That Preferments are not given in This Age as a Reward to the Virtuous ; Nor are any of Those who obtain Authority by indirect or unfair Methods, throughly safe or the more honest for it. For tho' it shou'd be in the Power of such to Govern their Country or Parents by Force , and suppose it to be in their Will too to Reform whatever appears to be amiss ; Yet Compulsion is no ways advisable to be us'd : Besides, that all Innovations in Government are too apt to be attended with Slaughter , Dispersion of Citizens, and a Thousand Mischiefs. On the other hand , to weary One's Self in hunting for Power , but be disappointed , and to reap Nothing but a People's Hatred, is the most fatal of All Madness. Unless we can think there are any Men of so Debas'd and Villanous a Spirit , as frankly to give up their Rights and Liberty for the sake of Aggrandizing a Few. But among the great Variety of Things which the Mind of Man may apply it self to , To relate the History of past Transactions is a Thing of prime Importance and Service : But I sha'n't enlarge on its Use and Excellence , because many have already spoken of it : And also that none may think I extol it through mere Vanity, and as That Study which I have thought fit to prosecute My Self. I expect to hear of a Set of People, who, because of the Resolution I have taken to pass my Life retir'd from the Public , Call the great and profitable Work I have made Choice of by the Name of Idleness. Such, forsooth ! who lay out themselves to worthier Purposes, in Cajolings, Cringings, and Feastings of the Mob , to become popular ; and who , if they do but

but call to Remembrance at what a Juncture I was put in Office, what Great Persons were pass'd over, and then what a sort of People They were who were brought afterwards into the Senate-House ; will be forc'd to allow, that it was not so much from a Desire of Ease as from juster Reasons, that I quitted the Way of Life I was in ; And that the Common-Wealth is like to be better serv'd by My Idleness, than by All This Noise and Bustling of Others. For I have often heard that *Q. Maximus* and *P. Scipio*, with other Heroes of the Republick, were wont to declare, That whenever they beheld the Statues of their Ancestors , they felt their Spirits inflam'd with the most ardent Aspirings to Virtue. Not, that the Wax or Figure of it self cou'd pretend to have such an Efficacy in it ; No, it was by bringing to mind the Acts perform'd by their Forefathers, That the Flame was kindled in their Noble Breasts : A Flame that was not to be quench'd or Contented, till their own Virtue had made 'em to equal the Fame and Glory of their Great Progenitors. But where's the Person in This Age , who is not rather for Rivalling his Ancestors in Riches and Expence , than in Industry and Virtue ? The very Men of obscure Birth , that heretofore were oblig'd to earn by Illustrious Deeds the Nobility they acquir'd , make their Way to Preferments Now more by Theft and Corruption, than Gallantry. As if the Offices of *Prætor* or *Consul* were High and Reputable Stations in themselves , and not to be valu'd according to the Merit of Those Men who are rais'd to fill them. I have spoke with so much Freedom and Length, from the just Concern and Grief of my Soul, to behold the Degeneracy of the Republic ; and proceed now to my Chief Design.

I propose to write the History of a War that was Carry'd on by the People of *Rome* against *Jugurtha* King

King of *Numidia*. First, Because 'twas a very sharp One, and long wag'd with various Success; And next for that it was this War that gave the first Occasion for Opposing and Checking the Insolence of the *Roman* Nobles: An Opposition and Struggle thereupon, that Confounded all Things both Human and Divine; and proceeded to such a Degree of Madness, that nothing less than Open Hostility, and the Ruin of *Italy*, cou'd put an End to it. But before I enter on this Task, 'twill be fit to premise a few Things, for the Clearing our Way to that which is to follow.

During the Second *Punick* War, wherein *Hannibal* General of the *Carthaginians* had given the greatest Blow to the Affairs of the *Roman* Empire that ever it met with from the Time it came to be formidable in the World; *Masinissa* King of *Numidia* being brought into Friendship and Alliance with the *Romans* by *P. Scipio*, (who was afterwards call'd *Africarus* for his Bravery) had distinguish'd himself by such gallant Atchievements, that after the Vanquishing of the *Carthaginians*, and the Taking of *Syphax*, who had late possess'd a great and considerable Kingdom in *Africa*, The *Romans* gave the Confederate King all the Cities and Territory that were won. Oblig'd by which, *Masinissa* Continu'd a fast and useful Friend to their State, to the Day that ended his Life and Reign. His Son *Micipsa* on the Death of the Father, and That of his Brothers *Manastabal* and *Gulussa*, who dy'd by Sickness a little after, came to Succeed to the whole Kingdom. This *Micipsa* had two Sons of his own Body, *Atherbal* and *Hiempsal*; and bred in his Court at the same Time, and with like Education as his own Children, *Fugurtha* the Son of his Brother *Manastabal*, whom old *Masinissa* had thought fit to leave no greater than a private Gentle-

Gentleman, because his Mother had been only a Concubine. *Fugurtha* by that time he was grown up discover'd not only a good Face, but a great Strength and Activity of Body, and a yet greater Capacity of Mind: He shunn'd the Enticements of Ease and Luxury; and follow'd the Manly Exercises of his Country, in Running, Riding, and Throw-ing the Dart; And tho' there was None but he out-did, there was None at the same time but was fond of him. He moreover often Hunted the Lion, with other Beasts that were most furious; and was always either the first Man, or among the first that Wound-ed the Prey. In a Word, he perform'd a World of Things, yet was ever the last to speak of Himself. *Micipsa* was mightily pleas'd at first with these Ap-pearances so promising in his Nephew, and look'd upon him as an Ornament to his Court: But at length perceiving Himself declining, his Sons as yet but tender and raw, and his Kinsman's Interest daily advancing, He began to be much Concern'd at the Case, and a Thousand Matters ran in his Mind: He Consider'd the Nature of Mankind, how very desirous it was of Power, and how apt to be Carry'd headlong to obtain it. And he thought of his own and his Childrens Age, as like to afford a fair Op-portunity: A Thing that's enough in such Cases to tempt even Men of Moderate Ambition, to renounce their Loyalty and turn Rebels. These Reflections fill'd him with Fears; Which were yet heighten'd by observing that *Fugurtha* had got the Hearts of all the *Numidians*: Upon which Account, if He made use of any unfair Ways to destroy him, He was apprehensive 'twou'd create Disturbances.

The King being thus distress'd in his Matters, and finding that neither by open Force nor secret Treachery, he cou'd safely rid himself of a Man who was so belov'd by the People, contriv'd another Way

Way to dispatch him. For knowing *Jugurtha* to be very daring, and extremely Covetous of Military Glory, he resolv'd to expose his Person in Battels, and try if Fortune wou'd take him off for him. Whereupon he made him General of the Forces of Horse and Foot, that he was sending into *Spain* to assist the *Romans* at the Siege of *Numantia*; Hoping he wou'd soon be knock't on the Head through his own Forwardness to show his Courage, or the Vigorous Sallies of a Fierce Enemy. But it fell out to be far otherwise: For *Jugurtha*, a Cunning and Active Man, having entred into the Genius of *P. Scipio*, who was then General of the *Roman* Army, and observ'd the Enemy's Way of Fighting, by Constant Toil and Vigilance in his Post, by a modest Obedience to All Commands, and by thrusting himself into any Dangers, quickly got such a Reputation, as won him the Affections of Our People, and made him Terrible to Those of *Numantia*. To do him Justice, He was Brave in Action, and Shrewd in Counsel at the same time: Two Things that are seldom seen united together in One Person: For the Foresight of Danger attending Those who have greatest Skill in the Art of War, is often apt to beget Fear; as a large Courage on the other Hand, is very like to transport to Rashness. Wherefore the General us'd *Jugurtha* in executing most Enterprizes of Difficulty, took him into the Number of his Friends, and became fonder every Day of him, As One whose Advices or Undertakings hardly ever fail'd of Success. Over and above All which he was Liberal, and a Man of Address and Pleasantry. By which Means he had wrought himself into a mighty Intimacy with many of the *Romans*. Now there happen'd to be Then in our Army Multitudes of Upstarts and also Noblemen, who valu'd Money before Honesty, were Factious and of great Authority at Home, and bet-
ter

ter known than trusted abroad. These inflam'd the Spirit of *Jugurtha*, that was but too Ambitious of it self, to endeavour after the Kingdom of *Numidia*, Promising That it shew'd be All His, As soon as *Micipsa* was once dead; And adding that He wasthe bravest Man, and had therefore the best Title to the Crown; And lastly that Any Thing might be bought at *Rome*. *Numantia* being taken at length and raz'd, *P. Scipio* prepar'd to return to *Italy* : But before dismissing the Confederate Troops He prais'd *Jugurtha* in a set Oration, and rewarded his Gallantry with great Presents. Then taking him to his own Tent, he privately advis'd him to make his Court to the People of *Rome* by such Ways as were open and honourable, and not Clandestine ; And dissuaded him from giving of Bribes to Any One : Telling him 'twas a Risque to Contract for That with a Few Men, which was the Gift of Many ; And adding That if he retain'd his Virtue by Continuing the Man that he was Then, Empire and Glory wou'd devolve upon him of their own Accord and without seeking 'em ; But that if he drove on precipitately, His very Money wou'd become his Ruin. *Scipio* having thus told him his thoughts dismiss'd him with the following Letter for *Micipsa*.
' Your General *Jugurtha* has distinguish'd himself above All at the Siege of *Numantia* ; A Piece of News ! that I am sure must be pleasing ! To Us his Merits have made him dear ; and Our Care shall be that they may recommend him as much to the Senate and People of *Rome*. I congratulate You hereupon as My Friend : For know, that You have in your Nephew a Man who is worthy of You and his Grandfather *Messinissa*.

When the King upon reading of this Letter found that the Voice of Fame was confirm'd by the hand of the *Roman* General himself, being overcome by the

the Gallantry of the Man, as well as mov'd by the Interest he had got, Chang'd his Intentions, and from that time endeavour'd to make him his Own by Kindnesses. To which purpose he presently adopted him, and by Will appointed him Co-heir with his own Sons to the Kingdom of *Numidia*. After a few Years were elaps'd, and *Micipsa* spent with Sickness and Age perceiv'd his Life was drawing to an end, 'tis said that in the Presence of his Friends and Relations with *Atherbal* and *Hiempſal* his two Sons he spoke to *Fugurtha* to this purpose.

‘ I receiv'd thee, *Fugurtha* ! into my Care while
‘ thou wert a Child , left Fatherless, and as well
‘ destitute of help as of hope. Believing My Kind-
‘ nesses wou'd make Me as dear to Thee as if I had
‘ been thy own Father. This expectation Thou hast
‘ not disappointed ; For to pass over the rest of thy
‘ Atchievements , Thou hast newly brought home
‘ Trophies and Honour to Me and to My Kingdom
‘ from the Siege of *Numantia*. Thou hast made the
‘ *Romans*, (our old Friends) to be more entirely Our
‘ Friends than ever : Thou hast by thy Gallantry re-
‘ viv'd the Name and Reputation of Our Family in
‘ *Spain*. And in short , Thou hast Conquer'd Envy
‘ it self (which is hardest of All) by Excess of Glo-
‘ ry. I am Now summon'd , I find, by Nature to
‘ pay her back the Debt of My Life ; And by This
‘ right hand I beseech thee ; By the Duty owing to
‘ Thy Countrey I conjure thee to embrace with a
‘ dear and inviolable Affection These my Sons who
‘ are thy Kinsmen by Birth, and by My Generosity
‘ are become Thy Brethren ; And Never to prefer
‘ Strangers for thy Friends before Those of Thy own
‘ Blood. ’Tis not Armies, nor great Treasures, that
‘ are the Safeguard of Kingdoms, but faithful Friends ;
‘ And Those are neither to be forc'd nor hir'd : But
‘ are

are gain'd by Kindness and secur'd by Constancy.
And, I pray, Who are likely to be truer to each other than Brother and Brother ; Or where will he look for a faithful Friend who turns his back on his nearest Kindred ? For My own part I shall leave You a Kingdom, Very powerful, if You hold together : But if not, 'twill be found a weak One. For As little Things are greaten'd by Union, so the Strongest are brought to Nothing by Divisions. Now it must be Your Care, My *Jugurtha* ! as Exceeding These in Years and Experience, to prevent All such Misunderstandings ; For in all Disputes the Most Powerful Party, tho' sometimes That which receives the Injury, is yet thought to be the Side that does it, because he is best able to do it. And As for You, *Atherbal* and *Hiempal* ! consider and revere this brave Man : Study his Virtues for Your Imitation : And take Care that it may never be said That the adopted Son of *Micipsa* was a Heroe, but his Own Children good for Nothing.

Tho' *Jugurtha* knew that the King's discourse was all a Piece of Dissimulation : And He Himself had other intentions, Yet he thought it convenient at that time to return a very plausible answer. This Affair being pass'd over, *Micipsa* dy'd in a few days ; and after his last Rites had been celebrated with a Grandeur suitable to a Royal Funeral, the three Kings had a Meeting together to confer about the Affairs of the Nation ; at which *Hiempal* the younger Brother who was naturally headstrong, of a high Spirit, and had ever look't with Contempt on *Jugurtha* as One who by reason of the Meanness of his Birth on the Mother's side was much his Inferior, Seated himself on the right of *Atherbal*, to prevent *Jugurtha*'s sitting in the middle, the Place of greatest Honour in Numidia. From whence till after much import-

importunity us'd by his Brother he cou'd not be prevail'd on to pay That deference to *Fugurtha's* Years as to remove himself to the further fide. At this Conference they had much discourse about the Administration of the Government ; and *Fugurtha* among other things propos'd the Annulling of All Ordinances made by *Micipsa* within the last five Years of his Reign, in regard he had been so long Superannuated, and not properly *Compos Mentis*. *Hiempſal* catching at those words declar'd that he was well pleas'd with the Motion, inas'much as 'twas but within the three last Years of the five that *Fugurtha* himself had been adopted by *Micipsa*, and appointed one of the Successors to his Throne. This expression entred deeper into the Breast of *Fugurtha* than most imagin'd. In so much that from That very Moment Boiling with anger and Rack'd with jealousy he determin'd the speedy death of *Hiempſal* ; and sought to trepan him by divers Ways. Which when he found to proceed but slowly, the resentments of his Mind being unappeasable, he resolv'd without any more delay to effect his purpose at any rate. At the first meeting mention'd before the three Kings dissenting in their Councils, Agreed to divide the Treasury amongst them, and assign each his part of the Kingdom. For both which there were times prefix't ; but the Money was to be distributed first. In the mean time they Chose to take up their Abodes separately in such places as lay nearest to the publick Treasure. Now *Hiempſal* happen'd on this occasion to reside in a house in the Town of *Thermis* that belong'd to One who was first Lictor and also an old Favourite of *Fugurtha's* ; who laying hold on the opportunity that Fortune presented him in so fit an Instrument prevail'd upon him by large promises to make a journey to his House as a Visitor and to get false Keys to the Gates: For the true were alway kept by *Hiempſal*;

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and

and told him that as soon as Matters were ready, he wou'd come Himself with a Body of Men. The *Numidian* quickly found means to put his Instructions in Execution ; and let in *Fugurtha*'s Soldiers in the Night, who, as soon as they were once entred the House, dispers'd themselves into all Corners in order to find out the young King : Cut the throats of several as they slept : And dispatch'd as many whom they met in their way : Examin'd all the private Apartments : Broke up every thing they found shut : And fill'd the House with Uproar and Confusion. At length *Hiempſal* was found out, having hid himself in a little hole where a Maid-Servant of the Family lodg'd ; and to which, knowing not where to make, he had fled in a fright on the first alarm. The Soldiers presently cut off his head : And according to their Orders carry'd it to *Fugurtha*. The report of this detestable Fact was immediately spread through all *Africa*. *Atherbal* and all the Friends of *Micipsa* were feiz'd with Consternation and Terror. The *Numidians* went into two Parties. The greater Number joyn'd with *Atherbal*, and the other (the more warlike) with *Fugurtha* ; who rais'g all the Forces he was able ; took many Cities by Assault ; got others to surrender voluntarily : Carry'd his Conquests, and proceeded, in short, to make Himself Master of all *Numidia*. As for *Atherbal* in the mean time, tho' he had sent away Ambassadors to *Rome* to acquaint the Senate with his Brother's Murder, and the Circumstances his own Affairs were in, yet relying on the Superiority of his Numbers, he drew out his Army and engag'd the Enemy, but was routed ; And retir'd into Our Province ; from whence he went directly to *Rome*. *Fugurtha* having now accomplish'd his design of engrossing the whole Kingdom of *Numidia*, had leisure to reflect on his own Proceedings : Which when he came to consider with him-

himself, he grew apprehensive of the *Romans* Resentment ; Against which he entirely despair'd of securing himself any other way than by the Avarice of the Nobles and his own Money. Whereupon within a few days after he dispatch'd away Ambassadors to *Rome* with a great Sum of Silver and Gold, and instructions first to distribute it plentifully amongst All his Old Friends : In the next place to make New Ones : And in Time, Not to stick at the bribing of Any They Cou'd purchase over to his Interest. After the Ambassadors were arriv'd at *Rome*, and according to their Orders, had dispos'd of their Money to the King's Friends, and to Others whose Influence was at that time prevailing in the Senate, the Scene was so much alter'd in an instant, that *Fugurtha* from being detested, as once, was now become the special Favourite and Care of a great part of the Nobility ; Many of whom being wrought upon by the Sums they had receiv'd, and Others induc'd by the hopes of coming into the Booty, employ'd all the Interest They had with every Senator To prevent their Coming to any severe Resolutions against him. By which Management as soon as his Agents were satisfy'd they had made a sufficient Party, A Day was procur'd for the House to sit and give Audience to both sides. At which Meeting 'tis said that *Atberbal* deliver'd himself in the following manner.

“ 'Twas the last Command, most illustrious Lords !
‘ I receiv'd from my dying Father *Micipsa* to regard
‘ my self in no other quality than That of a Vice-
‘ gerent of *Numidia* ; the true Right whereof was
‘ in You : To make it my business to become as ser-
‘ viceable as was possible to You both in War and
‘ Peace : And To look for all That in You which
‘ Kindred or Friends can afford or be. Adding that
‘ in

‘ in Your Alliance and Favour I shou’d find Armies,
‘ Treasures, and Every thing necessary for the sup-
‘ port of a King and Kingdom. These directions of
‘ my Royal Father I had no sooner prepar’d to pursue,
‘ when *Fugurtha*, a Man the most villainous on Earth,
‘ contemning all your Empire and Power, set upon
‘ Me, the Grandson of *Masinissa*, and Hereditary
‘ Friend and Ally of the *Romans* : And has driven
‘ me out of my Kingdom and Inheritance. I cou’d
‘ have been glad, most serene Fathers ! since I was
‘ to fall into these Circumstances, to have had a Me-
‘ rit and Interest of My Own rather than My Ance-
‘ stors to obtain Your Succour ; But especially to be
‘ entitled to’t without needing it : And to want and
‘ receive it as a sort of Debt to Me shou’d have been
‘ Only My Second Wish. But inasmuch as the
‘ greatest Innocence is not of it self a sufficient Screen,
‘ And it was not in My Power to prevent *Fugurtha*
‘ from being the Man he proves ; I am driven to
‘ You, most honourable Fathers ! and (which is the
‘ most sensible misfortune to Me) am compell’d to be-
‘ come a Burden to your Lordships before I have been
‘ able to render You any Service. Many Princes e-
‘ ven after You have conquer’d ‘em have been taken
‘ into Your Friendship and Protection. And Others
‘ by the very distress of their Affairs have been so
‘ happy as to gain Your Succour. But for Our Fa-
‘ mily, They imbarke’t with the *Romans* in the very
‘ War with the *Carthaginians* ; At which Conjunction
‘ Their good Will was more to be consider’d than the
‘ Strength they might add to You. And suffer not, I be-
‘ seech You ! the Descendant of such a Family, and
‘ the Grandson of *Masinissa* to address himself in
‘ vain t’y for your Aid. If I had nothing else to
‘ plead for it than the wretched Condition I am
‘ brought into, who from being a Prince but the o-
‘ ther day, of high Extraction, and powerful, and
‘ cele-

‘ celebrated, Am now a Wanderer, Despoil’d of E-
‘ very Thing, and reduc’d to beg Assistance from O-
‘ thers. It might look becoming the *Roman* Great-
‘ ness to Undertake the Cause of the Injur’d ;
‘ And permit None to advance by Villany. But I
‘ am thrust from the very Territories which were
‘ once given My Ancestors by the *Romans* : From
‘ Those Territories which My Grandfather and Fa-
‘ ther in conjunction with You won from *Syphax* and
‘ the *Carthaginians* by the dint of their Swords. ’Tis
‘ Your Bounty that is torn from me ; And in My
‘ Wrong ’tis Your Lordships are affronted. Most un-
‘ fortunate Man that I am ! Is this, O my Father
‘ *Micipsa* ! the Effect of thy kindness, that the Man
‘ Thou didst adopt and make Co-heir with thy
‘ own Sons is the only One that seeks to extirpate
‘ the Issue of thy Body out of the World ? Is it
‘ doom’d that the Family of *Masinissa* shall never ar-
‘ rive at any Quiet ? Must We always wade in Blood
‘ or be Exiles ? As long as the *Carthaginians* were in
‘ power, We had no reason to think it hard that We
‘ suffer’d all the Calamities in the World : We had
‘ then an Enemy for Our next Neighbour : Our
‘ Friends the *Romans* lay at a great distance : And all
‘ Our Security on the points of Our Swords. But
‘ after *Africa* was clear’d of That Plague, We flat-
‘ ter’d Our selves with the Hopes of Peace ; As
‘ having no Enemies left, unless Your Lordships
‘ shou’d think fit to Command Us to look on A-
‘ ny as such. But now *Jugurtha* lashing out in-
‘ to the most aspiring and outrageous Wickedness
‘ has murder’d my Brother and his own Kins-
‘ man : Usurp’d a Kingdom for the Recompence of
‘ his Villany : And after attempting by the same
‘ treachery (but happ’ly failing) to destroy Me, who,
‘ while under Your Protection, expected nothing less
‘ than such Violence, has forc’t Me to live, as You

‘ see, an Exile, stript of House and Home, and of
‘ Every Thing : Surrounded with Miseries on all
‘ sides : And every where safer than in My Own
‘ Kingdom : I did reckon upon it for truth, My
‘ Lords ! What My Father has often told Me, That
‘ those who endeavour’d to Merit Your Favour, took
‘ an arduous Work on their hands ; But, if they suc-
‘ ceeded, made Themselves the safest and happiest
‘ People in the World. For Our Family, It has done
‘ its utmost by engaging with You in All Your Wars.
‘ And ’tis now in Your Power to enable Me to enjoy
‘ the Privilege of Peace. He left Us two Brothers
‘ of his Body ; And a Third (*Jugurtha*) He thought
‘ he had joyn’d in the closest Bonds with Us by his
‘ generous kindness : One Brother is destroy’d al-
‘ ready, and I the Survivor have but narrowly
‘ escap’d the Attempts of his Impious Hands. What
‘ shall I do, Unfortunate that I am ! Or to what
‘ Quarter betake My Self ? All the Aids I might
‘ hope to derive from the Power of my Family are
‘ cut off. My Father has paid his Debt to Nature.
‘ My Brother has been Butcher’d by the Treachery
‘ of a Kinsman, who shou’d have been the last to
‘ have hurt him ; And All the rest of My Relations
‘ and Friends Am I robb’d of by one sort of Cruelty
‘ or another. For falling into the hands of *Jugur-*
‘ *tha*, Some have been rack’t to death on the Cross :
‘ Others thrown to his Beasts to be devour’d : and the
‘ very Few that are yet living, are imprison’d in dark
‘ and dolorous Dungeons, where They wear out a
‘ Life that is worse than Death. Were I now
‘ Master of all that I have lost , or of All
‘ That which is turn’d against Me , I shou’d
‘ yet upon any Unfortunate Emergence make My
‘ Application to Your Lordships ; In whom by
‘ the very Extent of Your Empire It seems a
‘ sort of Duty to maintain the Rights of the op-
‘ pressed

pressed every where. And Now that I am reduc'd to the Misery of Quitting my Country, Am become a Wanderer, and am rifled of Every Thing that is fitting for Me ; Whither shall I fly , or to whom shall I appeal ? Shall I go to the Neighbour-Nations or Princes, who are all of 'em Enemies to Our Family, because of its strict Alliance with You ? Have I any Corner to retreat to, where there are not Monuments left of the Hostilities of my Ancestors in Confederacy with You ? Will any One that has been at odds with the *Roman* People afford me Succour ? 'Twas, My Lords, the Injunction of *Masinissa*, That We shou'd not enter into Engagements with any Nation besides the *Romans* ; Assuring us, That in That Alliance We shou'd never fail of a full Security : And that if This Empire shou'd fall by any harsh and untimely Fate, We shou'd look to perish in the same Ruin. You are rais'd, My Lords ! by the Favour of the Gods and Your own Gallantry to the Top of Greatness : Every Thing gives Way to Your Puissance ; By which Means You can easily Vindicate the Cause of Your Friends against All Aggressors : And therefore I have nothing at all to fear, Unless it be, That Some in This House may be led away by their Respect for *Fugurtha* (too little known by 'em) and his fair Pretences. And indeed, I hear His Agents have been labouring and plying Every One of You, To Engage You Not to resolve any thing against him during his Absence, and before he has been heard. Insinuating that there's no Truth in My Complaints ; And that 'tis but Fiction that I am driven from My Kingdom, wherein I might stay in Quiet if I wou'd. Now I only wish I cou'd once see the Man , by whose most audacious Wickedness I am forc'd to make these miserable Complaints , oblig'd to come with the

like Fictions. Let Your Lordships then or th' Immortal Gods arise at last for the Rectifying of the World : That the Man who braves it now in his Villanies ; may be made to pay with the most exquisite Torments for his Ingratitude to my Father ; his Murdering of my Brother ; and for all the Miseries he has made Me suffer. And now, O my dearest and deceased Brother ! whose Fate it was to be robb'd of thy Life by an untimely Stroke, and that from One that it might have been least expected from ; I think Thy Case more happy than deplorable. For tho' with thy Life Thou hast lost a Kingdom, Thou hast left behind thee by the same Loss the greater Evils of Exile and Want, and All the Calamities that surround Me ; Whose Affliction 'tis to be driven out from the Kingdom of my Ancestors, and be made a Spectacle of the sad Uncertainty of Human Things ; Whose Misery it is to be so reduc'd, that I know not which to address my self to ; whether the Revenging of thy Wrongs, tho' I am not able to help My Self ; Or whether to look after My Own Kingdom, while My very Living or Dying depends on the Mercy and Aid of Others. I cou'd heartily wish 'twere an Honourable Way for Me to Conclude My Misfortunes by embracing Death ; That I might not live to be despis'd by the World, for Succumbing under My Oppressor, and being forc'd to acquiesce in his Injustice. And since I am almost averse to Living ; And yet cannot Dye but with Infamy, unless Iendeavour to Right My Self ; I beseech You, Fathers ! by Your Parents and Children, I Conjure You by Your Selves and the *Roman* Greatness, to Grant Assistance to a Wretched Prince ; To Stop the Career of a Furious Robber ; And not to suffer the Kingdom of Numidia, Your Own Property, to be a Prey to Vill-

‘ Villany , or dishonour’d by the Butchering of the
‘ Family of *Masinissa*.

After the King had ended his Harangue, *Fugurtha*’s Ambassadors , who rely’d more on the Money They had scatter’d than the Goodness of their Cause, return’d this slight and brief Answer : ‘ That ‘ *Hiempsal* was slain by the *Numidians* for Tyranny : ‘ That *Atherbal* , after he had thought fit to become ‘ the first Aggressor in a War , wherein he was de- ‘ feated , was come hither to complain that he was ‘ strip’t of a Power to do Mischief. And lastly, ‘ That *Fugurtha* desir’d Their Lordships, that they ‘ wou’d not suppose him chang’d from the Man that ‘ he was known to be at the Siege of *Numantia* ; ‘ Nor regard the bare Words of his Enemy , before ‘ the weighty Deeds He had perform’d.

Having ended, both Parties withdrew , and the House fell into Debate of the Case: Wherein Those who favour’d the Ambassadors, and a great many Others who acted by their Influence, made a Mock of the Complaints of *Atherbal*; cry’d up *Fugurtha*’s Worth to the Skies ; And with all their Interest ; with the warmest Speeches ; and, in short, by all the Ways in the World, labour’d to buoy up the Villanies of Another with as much Zeal, as if the Concern had been to Support their own Reputation. Yet a Few there were on the other hand , who preferring Honour and Justice to Money , gave their Votes for Assisting *Atherbal*, and severely Revenging the Murder of *Hiempsal*. But of all Those who stickled for *Atherbal*, the most remarkable was *Æmilius Scaurus*, an active, factious, and intriguing Nobleman ; Covetous of Wealth, Power, and Preferments ; but One who likewise at the same time had some Care to conceal his Vices. This Man perceiv-

ving that *Jugurtha* brib'd so publickly that it grew Notorious ; and fearing a Corruption so barefac'd wou'd raise an Odium in the People, as is Common, put a Restraint on his usual Avarice. But That Party in the House carry'd it, which preferr'd Money and Favour to Right ; And therefore 'twas resolv'd, That Ten Commissioners shou'd be sent to Divide the whole Kingdom of *Micipsa* between *Jugurtha* and *Athibal*. The first in which Commission was *L. Opimius*, a Man of Figure, and of great Authority then in the Senate ; Because of the Zeal he had shewn in his Consulate, in prosecuting the Victory of the Nobles against the Commons, when *Caius Gracchus* and *M. Fulvius* were kill'd. *Jugurtha*, notwithstanding This Man had been of the Number of his Friends at *Rome*, receiv'd him with utmost Ceremony, like a Stranger ; And by Presents and Promises wrought so far on him, That Honour, Integrity, and every thing else were laid aside by *Opimius*, to serve him. With the same Weapons he likewise set upon the other Commissioners, and prevail'd on Most of 'em ; Few preferring their Trust to Money. Wherefore, upon the Partition of the Kingdom, The Part which borders on *Mauritania*, and was most Considerable for Soil and People, was lotted out for *Jugurtha*'s Share : And the other, which was more sightly than serviceable, as being better furnish'd with Ports and adorn'd with Buildings, was assign'd to *Athibal*.

Here my Subject seems to demand of me a Draught of the Situation of *Africa* ; with some Account of Those Nations with which We have had Alliances or War. For as to the Countries whose Vast Desarts, or whom the Extremity of Heat or Cold have made to be less known and frequented ; I have nothing to say of 'em but what's uncertain ; But the other I'll speak to as briefly as possible.

The

The greatest part of Geographers have divided the Globe of the Universe into Three Parts, and made *Africa* to be One of the Three: But Some speak but of *Asia* and *Europe*, including *Africa* within the latter. 'Tis wash'd to the *West* by the *Streights* Sea, which joins our *Mediterranean* with the *Ocean*; And bounded on the *East* with a Tract of Country of great Declivity, call'd *Catabathmos*. The Seas about it are Tempestuous and Harbourless. The Soil is very fertile in Grain, and abounds in Cattle, but not Wood: It suffers under a Scarcity of Rain, as it does also of Springs and Rivers. The Inhabitants are Healthy, Swift of Foot, and able to endure Labour and Fatigue. The greatest part of 'em, except such as perish by the Sword, or by Wild Beasts, dye meerly of Old Age; for Diseases are rarely the Death of any. But they want not Murderous Animals to destroy them. Now as to the First Poffessors of *Africa*, what People flock't to them afterwards, and how they incorporated with each other; tho' the Account I shall give may differ from that which is most generally receiv'd; Yet what I have learnt of these Things from Translations out of the *Punick Books*, (said to be *Hiempſal's*) as likewise the Tradition that obtains among the Inhabitants Themselves, I'll relate in as few Words as I can; but leave my Authors accountable for the Truth of 'em.

The First then who were in Possession of this Country, were the *Gætuli* and *Libyans*; a very Savage and Barbarous People. Their Food was Venison and the Herbs of the Field, which they eat in the same manner as the Beasts. They liv'd without any Government or Laws, or the least Measures of Discipline among 'em; Roving about as they thought fit, and taking up their Quarters where the Night overtook 'em. But after the Death of *Hercules* in *Spain*, (for there, as the *Africans* say, he dy'd) His Army

Army which had been made up of several Nations having lost their General, and many setting up for the Command of it, quickly drop't away and disbanded: Of whom the *Medes*, *Persians*, and *Armenians* crossing into *Africa*, settled (most of 'em) in the Parts adjoining to Our Sea. But the *Persians* more inwards, and to the Ocean. And These made 'em Tenements with their Ships, by turning the Bottom or Keel upwards; For the Country afforded'em no Timber; nor had they the Convenience of importing it from *Spain*, having no Commerce with That Nation, by reason of the vastness of the Sea that was between 'em, and their unacquaintednes with the *Spanish* Tongue. It was not long before They began to intermarry and mingle with the *Gætuli*. And because 'twas their Way to be always moving, and to ramble in quest of New Territories, they gave themselves the Name of *Numidians*. And the Cottages of the *Numidian* Boors do still look like a Ship inverted, being built Oblong, and with Sides Convex. The *Medes* and *Armenians* were join'd by the *Lybians*, being seated nearer the *Africk* Sea; (Whereas the *Gætuli* were more under the Sun, and not far from the Torrid Zone.) These quickly built themselves Towns; for being parted from *Spain* but by Narrow Streights, they had Means of trading with each other. Their Name in time was corrupted by the *Lybians*, who call'd 'em *Maurs* instead of *Medes*, according to Their Barbarous Way of Pronunciation.

The *Persians* retaining their New Name, grew so fast in the mean time, as in Power, so in Multitudes of People, that the Younger Sort abandoning their Homes, march'd away, and possessed themselves of the Territory next adjoining to *Carthage*, and now going by the Name of *Numidia*. After which, being both join'd, They reduc'd their Neighbours by dint of Sword, or compell'd them to yield to their Power out

out of Fear : And gain'd thereby a great Reputation; But Those the most who carry'd their Arms into the Parts confining on Our Sea : For the *Gætuli* were better Soldiers than the *Libyans*. The Event of all which was This, that the greatest part of the Lower *Africa* came to Call the *Numidians* Masters : And the Vanquish'd were all oblig'd to submit to, and take upon them the Name of their Conquerors. Some time after this the *Phœnicians* to discharge their Numbers (too great at Home) And some to set up Empires Abroad, perswaded many of the Common People and Others who were fond of New Seats, to leave their Old. And accordingly they went and built *Hippo*, *Adrumetum*, *Leptis*, and other Cities on the Sea Coasts. Which quickly growing rich and powerful, became (Some) to be a Defence, and (Others) an Honour to those Countries from whence they had transplanted themselves. For as to *Carthage*, I think it better not to mention a Word about Her, than say too little of so great a City, while I am summon'd to other Matters. The first Place then that we meet with on the Sea Coast, and towards *Catabathmos* (The Tract that divides *Ægypt* from *Africa*) is *Cyrene*, a Colony from the Isle of *Thera*. Next to That are the two *Syrtes*, and between Those the City of *Leptis*, and which is also follow'd by the Altars of the *Phœnicians*, which us'd to fix the Bound of the *Carthaginian* Empire on the *Ægyptian* side. Then You have other Punick Towns. And for the rest of the Countrey as far as *Mauritania*, 'tis all in the possession of the *Numidians*. The *Moors* are directly opposite to *Spain*. To the upper side of *Numidia* are the *Gætuli*, who inhabit (Some) of 'em in fix'd Cottages, but the Barbarous ramble from one Place to another. Beyond These the *Æthiopians* are situated. And lastly, the Desarts that are parch'd by the Sun. Now when the War began with *Jugurtha*, The *Romans* possessed

possess'd and had settled Governors in most of the *Carthaginian Towns*, and Frontier Places, Having newly Conquer'd them. The greatest Part of the *Gætuli* and the *Numidians*, as far as the * *Mulucha* obey'd *Fuguriba*. And the *Moors* were all under King *Bocchus*, who knew no more of the *Romans* than their Name; Nor had any Transactions of Peace or War made them know Him before the *Fugurthine*. But I have said as much of *Africa*, and its Inhabitants, as the necessity of the Subject requir'd from me.

After the Kingdom had been thus divided, the Commissioners parted from *Africa* for *Rome*. And *Fuguriba* perceiving that contrary to his Fears he had got a Reward allow'd him for his Villany, reckon'd upon't as a certain Truth, what had been formerly told him at *Numantia*, That Every Thing was to be bought at *Rome*; And being moreover encourag'd by the Promises of Those whom he had lately brib'd, he resolv'd to set on the Territories of *Atherbal*. Of an Active Genius (Himself) and a Warrior: But the poor Prince he design'd upon of a Peaceful, Effeminate and Mild Disposition, more Afraid Himself, than to be Fear'd; and form'd, as it were, to be a Prey to Injustice: Thereupon at the head of a Numerous Band he enters his Kingdom before he was aware; sweeps the Countrey of Men and Cattel, and whatever else he could meet with in his Way; burns the Villages, and flies about with a Body of Horse to insult the Cities. And after ravaging thus for some time, returns home with the whole Booty; Believing that *Atherbal* could not but resent the Affront so far as to avenge it by Arms, which was the very Thing he desir'd, as That which would give him a Pretext for War with him. But *Atherbal* knowing

* The Name of a River as well as of a City.

himself to be an Unequal Match for him that Way ; and depending more on his Alliance with the *Romans* than on all the Strength of his *Numidian* Subjects, Contented himself with sending Ambassadors to *Fugurtha* to complain of the Injuries he had receiv'd. And though they met with a Contemptuous Reception, yet he determin'd to suffer any thing, rather than take Refuge in Arms, wherein he had succeeded so ill before. But this Conduct did no way abate the Unappeasable Ambition of *Fugurtha*, who in his Heart had already possess'd himself of his Kingdom. Whereupon he enters it, not as before, with a Force only to make Depredations, but with a great Army to wage War ; And without concealing his Design any longer, To contend for the Empire of all *Numidia*. Where-ever he Came, he ruin'd the Countrey, plunder'd the Cities, and carry'd away the Booty ; puff'd up the Spirits of his own Party, and struck a Terror into Those of his Enemies. *Atherbal* finding himself reduc'd to the necessity of either quitting his Kingdom, or maintaining the Possession of it by force, raises an Army, and marches against *Fugurtha*. A little off of the Town of *Cirta*, and not far from the Sea side, both Armies met and encamp'd ; for because the Evening was coming on, they declin'd engaging for that Day. But after the Night had been far gone, yet before Day-light was quite arriv'd, *Fugurtha*'s Men on a Sign given them, attack'd and broke into *Atherbal*'s Camp, and routed and overthrew his Soldiers, who had hardly time to betake themselves to their Arms ; and for the greater part of 'em were scarce Awake. *Atherbal* himself with a few Horse fled to *Cirta* : Whither he was so closely pursu'd, that if it had not been for a Multitude of *Italians*, that kept off the *Numidians* from the Walls, the War between the two Kings had been finish'd the same Day it began. Thereupon *Fugurtha* invested

invested the Town, and with * Vines, Towers, and all sorts of Batteries press'd the Siege with the utmost Vigor ; Hasting to Reduce it before the Ambassadors, which he heard *Atherbal* had before the Fight dispatch'd to *Rome*, cou'd arrive there. As soon as the Senate was inform'd of the War, They order'd Three Young Gentlemen to *Africa*, with Instructions to go to the Two Kings, and to let 'em know 'twas the Pleasure of the Senate and People of *Rome* that they shou'd lay down their Arms, and submit their Differences to be determin'd by Law ; As the fittest Standard for the *Romans* to prescribe, and the Two Contenders to be guided by. The Commissioners quickly arriv'd in *Africa*, having made so much the more Speed, in regard that while they were preparing for their Journey, the News of the Engagement abovemention'd and Besieging *Cirta* was brought to *Rome* : But the Relation was much minc'd and softned. *Jugurtha* on Receipt of the Commissioners Message, told them, ' That there was ' nothing in the World for which he had a greater ' Deference than for the Authority of the *Roman* ' Senate : That he had endeavour'd so to behave ' himself from his Youth, as to be approv'd by eve- ' ry Good Man : That 'twas not Ill Deeds, but his ' Virtue which had recommended him so much to ' *P. Scipio*, That great Ornament of the Common- ' Wealth : That it was for the same Virtue and Be- ' haviour, and not for Want of Children of his own, ' that *Micipsa* had adopted him for an Heir to his ' Kingdom. But that the more deserving He had ' been, He was the less able to digest Affronts. ' That *Atherbal* had laid Snares for his Life, which

* Which were made like Hurdles and Cover'd with Raw Skins, and being join'd together serv'd for a Skelter to the Besiegers in their Approaches.

he had only endeavour'd to disappoint. That the *Romans* wou'd act an unjust Part, if they barr'd him the Benefit of the Law of Nations. And lastly, That he wou'd in a little time send away Ambassadors to *Rome* to give Satisfaction as to all his Proceedings.

Upon this Result the Commissioners departed; without having Liberty to speak with *Atherbal*. When *Fugurtha* suppos'd they were got out of *Africa*; and found that he cou'd not take *Cirta* (by reason of its Natural Strength) by Storm, he surrounds it formally with Trenches and Works; fills his Towers with Armed Men; labours continually Night and Day to reduce the Town by Stratagem or Force; tempts the Besieged sometimes with Promises, and anon endeavours to terrify 'em into a Surrender; Animates the Assailants to push forward; and, in short, leaves nothing Undone. *Atherbal* hereupon perceiving his Affairs to be in Extremity: That the Enemy press'd furiously on: That there was no such thing as Relief to be expected; And that he was not in Condition to hold out a Siege for any long Time, for Want of Provisions; Picks out Two of the briskest Fellows of Those who had follow'd him into *Cirta*, who induc'd by the great Promises he made 'em, and by their own Commiseration of his Circumstances, undertook to pass through the Enemy's Camp in the Night to the next Shore, and from thence to *Rome*. The *Numidians* in a few days effected their Design; and deliver'd a Letter from *Atherbal* to the Senate; which was read in the House, and had these Contents.

It has not been, Most Illustrious Fathers, Any Fault of Mine, that has made Me apply so often to You for Succour; but I have been constrain'd

‘ to it by the Outrages of *Fugurtha*, who thirsts so
‘ immeasurably after my Blood, that he pursues it
‘ in Defiance of all Your Resentment, as well as
‘ That of th’ Immortal Gods. Nothing will satis-
‘ fy him, but my utter Destruction. And therefore
‘ I have been for these Five Months (tho’ all the
‘ while an Ally of the *Romans*) closely besieg’d by
‘ him in my own Town. Nor have either the Me-
‘ rits of my Father *Micipsa*, or Your Decrees been
‘ available to Relieve Me. I can hardly say Whe-
‘ ther I am most press’d by Famine, or my Enemy’s
‘ Sword. My Ill Fortune, and the Experience
‘ I have had of the little Credit that’s given to the
‘ Miserable, might dissuade Me from Writing any
‘ thing more of the Villanies of *Fugurtha*; but that
‘ I am satisfy’d He designs more than the Ruining
‘ Me; And can’t expect to Rob Me of my King-
‘ dom, and yet remain in Friendship with You.
‘ Which of these He regards most is, I think, obvi-
‘ ous to Every One. For first he Murder’d my
‘ Brother *Hiempsal*; and next has driven Me from
‘ my Native Kingdom. As to private Disputes be-
‘ tween Us, You might think it not convenient to
‘ meddle in ‘em: But This Affair is Your Lordships
‘ Own; ‘Tis Your Kingdom he has Seiz’d upon,
‘ And Your Own Viceroy that he Besieges in Me.
‘ How little he valu’d the Message of Your Deputies,
‘ my present Extremity do’s sufficiently show: And
‘ what Remedy remains for Me, but Your Arms to
‘ Reduce him to Reason? For my own part, I
‘ cou’d heartily wish, That both every Word I have
‘ now written, and all I have formerly represented
‘ in the House, were nothing else but a meer Fig-
‘ ment, rather than have it made true by the
‘ wretched Condition I am now in. But since I
‘ was born for nothing else but to be the Ball of
‘ *Fugurtha*’s Insolence, I acquiesce in Calamity and
‘ Death;

‘ Death ; and only beg that You will not let Me
‘ fall into the Hands of my Enemy , and be tortur’d.
‘ Provide then as You please , My Lords , for the
‘ Safety of *Numidia* , Your Own Kingdom ; but by
‘ the Honour of the *Roman Empire* ; by the Faith
‘ that’s due to Our strict Alliance ; by the Actions
‘ and Memory of my Grandfather *Masinissa* , if
‘ there be any Remembrance yet left of him , I be-
‘ seech You to rescue Me from the Violence of a
‘ Villain.

Upon Reading this Letter in the House , several of the Members were of Opinion that an Army ought to be sent into *Africa* with all Expedition , to relieve *Athibal* : And that in the mean time they shou’d consider in what manner to deal with *Fugurtha* , for his disobeying the Message of the Deputies . But *Fugurtha*’s Party with Might and Main oppos’d their Coming to this Resolution ; And the Publick Good in this Case , as it happens in many other Matters , was oversway’d by private Interest . However They thought fit to appoint some of the Chief and most Elderly of the Nobles to go their Commissioners into *Africa* : Of whom the above-mention’d *Scaurus* was One , a Man of Consular Dignity , and at that time President of the Senate . The Commissioners , in regard the Affair they went on was of a Crying Nature , and being likewise hasten’d by the Messengers of *Athibal* , got o’ Shipboard in Three Days , and were shortly after landed at *Utica* . From whence they dispatch’d a Courier to *Fugurtha* , to let him know that they were come from the Senate , and expected his Attendance in the Province forthwith . When he understood that Men of such Note , whose Authority was very great in the State , were arriv’d contrary to his Expectation , he was much concern’d , and distracted at once by the two

Passions of Fear and Ambition. Afraid he was of the Senate's Resentment, if he did not pay Obedience to their Deputies; but then his Soul on the other hand carry'd away by a blind Ambition, was for going on with what he had begun: The Result was, That in a Breast so aspiring, the last and worst Counsel prevail'd. Whereupon surrounding the Town with his Army, he storms it vigorously on all sides; persuading himself, that by diverting the Enemy, and giving 'em their Hands full in every Quarter, he might carry it by Force, or have a Chance to surprize it. But the Attempt not succeeding to his Mind, and being disappointed of his Chief Aim of getting *Atherbal* into his Hands before any Interview had with the Commissioners, he bethought himself; and fearing that *Scaurus*, of whom he stood in the greatest Awe, wou'd resent his Delaying any longer to wait on 'em, he went with a few Horse to the Province: Where notwithstanding he was reprimanded and smartly threatned in the Name of the Senate, on his not Raising the Siege of the Town: Yet after a great deal of Altercation, the Commissioners were oblig'd at last to depart, without effecting any Thing at all.

An Account of this being brought to *Cirta*, the *Italians*, whose Valour had Defended the Place, depending upon Honourable Treatment on a Surrender, in Consideration of the Puissance of the *Romans*; persuaded *Atherbal* to Deliver up Himself and the Town to *Fugurtha*, without insisting upon any Condition, but only That of Quarter for his Life. Assuring him, That the Senate wou'd take care to Right him in all other Particulars. Whereupon *Atherbal*, tho' he was sensible that Nothing cou'd be falser than *Fugurtha's* Word, yet knowing himself in the Hands of Those who had Power to force him, if he stood out, submitted himself to their

their Advice, and Surrender'd. The first thing that *Jugurtha* did, was the Killing *Atherbal*, after he had Tortur'd him; And in the next place he put to the Sword all the *Numidian* Youth, and the † Merchants promiscuously, as they fell in the Soldiers way. When the News of this was brought to *Rome*, and the Matter came to be Debated in the Senate, the Old Pensioners of the King interpos'd; And what by making Friends in the House, and what by Spinning out Time in Wrangling, had so far qualify'd the Heinousness of the Fact, that if *C. Memmius* Tribune of the People Elect, a brisk Man, and a great Stickler against the Growing Power of the Nobles, had not acquainted the Populace with the Design that was carrying on by a certain Faction to pass over the Villany of *Jugurtha*, all the Indignation of the Senate wou'd, by drawing out the Debate from one Day to another, have vanish'd into Nothing; So prevailing was Interest and the King's Money. But the Senate being Conscious of their own Tardiness, were afraid of the People: And therefore, according to the Law of *Sempronius*, decreed *Numidia* and *Italy* to be the Provinces of the next Consuls; who were declar'd to be *P. Scipio Nasica*, and *L. Bestia Calpurnius*. To the first of These *Italy* was assign'd; and *Numidia* fell to the Lot of *Calpurnius*. Thereupon an Army was rais'd forthwith, in order to be Transported into *Africa*; And a Vote pass'd for Money, Ammunition, and other Necessaries for Carrying on a War.

When *Jugurtha*, contrary to his Expectation, as One who had long taken it for granted that Money wou'd effect any thing at *Rome*, had receiv'd Intel-

† The Italians beforementioned, who were there upon the account of Trade.

ligence of These Things, he dispatch'd away his own Son and Two of his Favourites Ambassadors to the Senate, with the same Instructions he had given Those whom he sent thither on the Murder of *Hempsal*; Which were, To Bribe All they cou'd meet with. *Bestia* upon their Approach towards *Rome*, thought it convenient to Consult the Senate whether to Admit 'em within the Walls. And the Resolution of the House was, That unless they came with an Offer from their Master, to Deliver up both his Person and Kingdom, they shou'd depart out of *Italy* in Ten Days. The Consul communicated This to them; so they went Home without doing any thing. In the mean time, *Calpurnius* having got his Army in Readiness, chose for his Legates some of the Nobles who were Potent and Factious, and whose Great Authority might Shelter him in case of any Mismanagements. Of which Number *Scaurus* was One, whose Character we have already given. For the Consul Himself, it must be confess'd he was Master of many Considerable Endowments both of Body and Mind, but they were all of 'em defeated by Covetousness. Able He was to endure Fatigue: Of a quick Understanding, and good Foresight: Well Skill'd in the Art of War: Proof against all manner of Surprize; and not to be shaken in the greatest Danger. The Legions march'd through *Italy* for *Rhegium*: From whence they were Shipp'd off for *Sicily*; and from thence Transported into *Africa*: Where *Calpurnius*'s first Care was to make sure of Provisions for his Forces; and then he briskly enters *Numidia*, takes a great Number of Prisoners, and several Cities with Sword in Hand. But as soon as ever *Jugurtha* by his Agents began to dazzle his Eyes with Gold; and to lay before him the Difficulties of the War which he had undertaken; his Mind sick of the Distemper of Avarice, tack'd about to the

the Service of the King. However, he took care to have *Scaurus* for a Partner and Assistant in all his Counsels; Who, notwithstanding he had stickled strongly against *Jugurtha's* Interest at first, when the greatest part of the Faction besides had suffer'd themselves to be scandalously corrupted, yet mov'd at last by the Vastness of the Bribe, was brought off from the side of Justice to espouse That of Oppression and Villany. The King however had not at first the Assurance to pretend to purchase any more than a Cessation of Arms; believing he shou'd be able in the mean time by Money or Friends to do something at *Rome*. But after he understood that *Scaurus* was prevail'd upon to be One in the Affair, he began to reckon on a full Peace; and resolv'd to Treat in Person of the Terms of it. To secure Him in which, and by way of Hostage, the Quæstor *Sextius* was sent by the Consul to a Town of the Enemy's call'd *Vacca*, tho' under pretence of receiving some Corn, which *Calpurnius* had openly, to amuse those about him, commanded the Agents to provide for him, in Consideration of the Truce They desir'd before They came to an entire Surrender. Thereupon *Jugurtha* came into the Camp, and after making a short Speech to the Council of War in Excuse of his Actions, petition'd to be admitted to Surrender: But the Manner and Terms upon which he was to make it, were transacted in private with *Bestia* and *Scaurus*. And the next day the Votes of the Council being taken in a Huddle, he was admitted accordingly. However, as 'twas order'd before the Council, Thirty Elephants, a good Number of Horses, Cattle, and a Considerable Sum of Money were deliver'd to the Quæstor. Upon which *Calpurnius* departed for *Rome*, to assist in the Election of New Magistrates; And all was Peace in *Numidia* and the Army.

As soon as the News had reach'd *Rome* how Matters had been Carried in *Africa*, there was nothing talk'd of in all Places and Conversations but the Management of the Consul. The Populace were in a great Rage, and the Fathers themselves were much distracted, as not knowing whether they had best to agree to his Scandalous Act, or rescind it ; But the Power of *Scaurus*, who was said to be *Bestia*'s chief Adviser, and Associate in the Thing , deter'd them from taking the right Course. But while the Senate was thus hesitating, *C. Memmius* of whose freedom of Speech and Inveteracy against the Power of the Nobles we have already given the Reader a hint, endeavour'd to stir up the People by Harangues to revenge themselves upon Those who had betray'd 'em : Exhorted 'em not to desert the Cause of the Common-Wealth and their own Liberty : Laid before 'em several Haughty and Tyrannical Acts which the Nobility had done ; and in short, labour'd with the utmost Zeal, and by all the ways in the World to inflame them. But in regard that the Eloquence of *Memmius* was at that time in great Reputation, and carry'd a mighty Stroke with it at *Rome*, I think it proper to recite One of the Many Orations he deliver'd to the People , and I pitch upon That which he made to an Assembly upon *Bestia*'s return in the following Words.

‘ If the Concern I have for the Publick did not
‘ outweigh All Considerations, I have Things enough,
‘ My Countrymen , to deter Me from standing
‘ up in defence of Your Cause : As the Strength of
‘ the Faction, Your own Tameness, No such Thing
‘ as Justice to be had, and above all, the Experience
‘ that Honesty is attended with more Danger than
‘ Credit. For it grieves Me to look back and ob-
‘ serve how You have been for these fifteen Years
‘ in-

‘insulted by the Power of a few Noblemen; and
‘how shamefully and how unreveng’d You have
‘suffer’d Your best Champions to perish ! Nay such
‘Sloth or Cowardice has possess’d You, That Even
‘Now, when Your Enemies Practices have laid ’em
‘so open, You forbear to stir : You are Even Now
‘afraid of the Man to whom on the contrary You
‘shou’d make Your selves a Terror. But Notwith-
‘standing the Case be thus, My Zeal obliges Me to
‘stand up in opposition to the Power of a Faction.
‘Yes ! I resolve to make use of the liberty of Speech
‘bequeath’d me by my Ancestors, but what Success
‘I shall use it with depends alone upon Your Plea-
‘sure. I am not going about, my Countrymen,
‘to incite You to what Your Fore-Fathers have often
‘done in the like Cases, The taking Arms to Re-
‘dress Your Grievances. There’s no need of That,
‘or a Secession. They must fall by the same Pro-
‘cess of Justice by which Themselves have destroy’d
‘Others. After the Massacring *Tiberius Gracchus*
‘who, They cry’d out, aspir’d to be King, the
‘Commons were prosecuted with All Sorts of
‘Charges ; After the Murder of *Caius* and *Fulvius*
‘Multitudes of Your Brethren were destroy’d in
‘Prisons. And in either Case it was not at last
‘owing to any regard to Law but to Their own
‘Pleasure, perhaps tir’d, that an end was put to the
‘miserable havock. Let it go for granted that to
‘set up for the Rights of the People was to aim at
‘Kingship ; And for what Cannot be well punish’d
‘without shedding the Blood of some Citizens, Let
‘it pass for Law to shed it accordingly ; and see
‘what our Nobles will get by it ! For Years past
‘You have seen with Resentment, without prose-
‘cuting it, the Treasury pillag’d, Tribute exacted
‘from free Nations to put into the Pockets of a few
‘Noblemen, With all the Wealth and Dignities
‘of

of the State monopoliz'd into Their Hands. And yet instead of being Contented to go off unpunish'd for Their Crimes, They Carry'd Their Outrages yet farther, and have treacherously given up Your Honour, the Justice of the Empire, and all Rights both Divine and Human as a Prey to Your Enemies. Nor do The Actors of These things discover the least Sorrow or Shame for 'em ; but walk in State under Your Noses : Boasting their Pontificates, their Consulates, and their Triumphs, As if they were Proofs of their great Merit, and not rather of their Usurpings upon You. The very Slave that is purchas'd with Money won't bear with a Tyrannical Master. And can You, My Countreymen, who were born to Rule find the Patience to away with Bondage ? But what are these Men (by the way) who have thus laid their hands on our Government ? Why the most oppressive, most insatiably covetous, the bloodiest, and the haughtiest Fellows in the Universe : Fellows whose Practice is to set Faith, Honour, Equity, and every thing to Sale : And to screen themselves against your Resentment. Some have butcher'd the Tribunes of the People : Others have plagu'd you with illegal Processes : And the greater Part of 'em have found it necessary to shed as much of your Blood as They Cou'd. The more Villanous that way, the more safe They suppose Themselves ; And for That Fear which shou'd have kept with Their Wickedness, They have left it to Your Cowardice to take to. And being embark'd in the same Interest, and All on an equal foot as to Danger ; They are All United as One Man. Now such a Conjunction of honest Men might deserve, perhaps, the Title of Friendship ; but among Villains, it is but a Conspiracy. And were You but as Zealous in preserving Liberty. As They are ambitious

bitious of Domination, They wou'd never be able
to make such Spoil of the Common-Wealth as They
do at present. Nor wou'd Your Favours fall to the
Share of a Crew of Robbers, but of Men of Vir-
tue. Your Fore-Fathers thought it convenient to
divide no less than twice from the Nobles, and pos-
sess themselves of th' *Aventine* Mount in an armed
Body to assert their Privileges, and maintain the
Dignity of the *Roman* Commonalty. And will
not You be prevail'd upon to exert Your last Ef-
forts in Defence of That Liberty Their Bravery has
bequeath'd You ? Especially since 'tis more disho-
nourable to quit the Rights You were once possess'd
of, than never to have had any such at all ? But
Some among You perhaps will ask me what it is I
wou'd have You do ? I answer, You must take a
just Vengeance on Those who have betray'd the
Publick to Your Enemy ; Not by an Insurrection,
or by Force, As being unfitter for You to act it,
than for Them to suffer by such Violence ; But
bring the Parties to a fair Trial, and set *Fugurtha*
up as an Evidence : Who if he has surrender'd in-
deed, will comply with what You demand of him ;
but if he refuses, You'll then judge what that Sur-
render and Peace is, by which *Fugurtha* has reap't
Impunity, a Few great Ones prodigious Treasure,
and the Publick nothing but Loss and Infamy. But
perhaps You have not had as yet enough of the Ty-
ranny of These Men : And You fancy Those the
happiest Times when the Administration of King-
doms and Provinces, Of Laws and Justice, Of
Peace and War : And, in short, when all Things
Divine and Human Came to be usurp'd by a few
Aspirers ; While You the Unconquer'd People of
Rome, and the Lords, forsooth ! of the whole
World thought it a Privilege if You might but
breath. For where's That One Man among You
who

‘ who had then the hardiness to refuse to serve? Tho’
‘ I think it a very scandalous thing that any Man
‘ shou’d receive wrong, and the Malefactor go off
‘ unpunish’d, Yet I cou’d agree You shou’d pardon
‘ the greatest of Criminals in regard they are Citi-
‘ zens, if I were not well satisfy’d that Your Mercy
‘ wou’d only issue in Your own Destruction. For
‘ These Men are so restless in their Nature, that un-
‘ less You totally take from ’em the Very Power of
‘ hurting You for the future, They’ll never think
‘ They have gain’d enough by going off without
‘ being punish’d ; And You will live in perpetual
‘ Fear, as finding You must either be Slaves to Them,
‘ or maintain Your Liberty with Sword in hand.
‘ What Shadow of hope can there be of establishing
‘ a firm Union between ye? They are resolv’d to
‘ become Your Lords, and You to continue Free
‘ Men: They are bent to insult Your Rights, and
‘ You as much determin’d to defend ’em. They
‘ perfidiously treat Your Enemies as so many Friends,
‘ and Your Friends as Enemies. And can there be
‘ any such thing as Concord between Parties of Ends
‘ and Sentiments so very opposite to Each other?
‘ I beseech then and conjure You, *Romans*! not to
‘ suffer such crying Wickedness to pass without its
‘ deserved Punishment. The Case before You at
‘ this time is not about robbing the Chequer, or ex-
‘ torting Money from any of our Allies: Which
‘ tho’ Offences of a high Nature are now so common
‘ they are thought but Trifles. No, ’Tis the *Roman*
‘ Senate is betray’d. Your Authority is deliver’d up
‘ as a Prey to Your most inveterate Enemy. And
‘ the Publick both at home and abroad is bought and
‘ sold by a Crew of Mercenaries. If You look not
‘ into these things and bring the guilty to condign
‘ Punishment, what shou’d You do but without
‘ Scruple own Your Selves their absolute Slaves, and
‘ sub-

‘ submit to ‘em as so many Kings? For what is King-
‘ ship but acting arbitrarily without liableness to any
‘ Account? All this while I am not disposing You
‘ to be more willing that your Fellow Citizens shou’d
‘ be found faulty, than appear innocent; but only,
‘ if they are truly Tardy, Not to allow a Mercy to
‘ Villains, that May prove a Cruelty to honest Men.
‘ Besides, ‘tis better Policy in a Government to for-
‘ get a Service than excuse an Injury. For a Man
‘ of Merit, if he be neglected, only grows a little
‘ discourag’d: Whereas the Consequence of conni-
‘ ving at a Rascal is to make him but more daring in
‘ Villany. I shall only add that if You revenge
‘ All the Invasions that are made upon You, You
‘ won’t be put to such frequent trouble of calling in
‘ the aid of Your Friends.

Memmius by this and the like Harangues persuades the People to depute *L. Cassius*, who was then *Prætor*, to go to *Fugurtha*, and, engaging the Publick Faith for his safety, prevail upon him to come to *Rome*, To the end the Intriegues of *Scaurus* and the rest who were said to be guilty of taking Bribes might be made appear convictively by His Evidence. During which Transactions at *Rome*, They who were left behind by *Bestia* to command the Army in his Absence from *Numidia* following the bad Example of their General committed many and most scandalous Misdemeanors. Some there were who corrupted by Money deliver’d back the Elephants to *Fugurtha*: Others sold to him the Deserters: And divers plunder’d the Provinces that were at Peace: So strong a Fit of Avarice had seiz’d like a sort of Plague upon all their Spirits. *Memmius*’s Point being thus gain’d, and the Nobles struck as it were with Thunder, the *Prætor* goes to *Fugurtha*, and advises him, That since he had Surrender’d, he had

had better throw himself on the Mercy of the *Romans*, than provoke their Power. And finding him misgiving through Guilt, and diffident of his Safety in so doing, he gives him, together with That of the Publick, his own Word for it, as an Equal Security : So great was the Reputation of *Cassius*. Upon this, *Jugurtha* in a pitiful Garb, and with Equipage not befitting a King, ventures to come in Person to *Rome*: And tho' he had naturally an Undauntedness of Soul, and moreover Assurances given him by Those who had been his Upholders, that all things shou'd be well, Yet he took Care by a great Bribe to secure *C. Bæbius* the Tribune of the People, whose Impudence he hop'd wou'd Carry him out both against Justice, and the Rage of the Populace. *Memmius* having Call'd an Assembly of the People, They appear'd so incens'd against the King, that Some of 'em were for clapping him in Irons : And others for taking the old Way of inflicting Capital Punishment upon him, Unless he wou'd let 'em know his Accomplices. But *C. Memmius* being more concern'd for their Honour, than gratifying their Passion, endeavour'd to qualify 'em ; And convinc'd 'em at length of the just Necessity of preserving the Publick Faith inviolate. After having procur'd Silence, He brought in *Jugurtha* ; and made a Speech, wherein he laid open all the Intrigues he had Carried on both at *Rome* and in *Numidia* : Spoke of his horrid Ingratitude to *Micipsa* : and rip't up his barbarous Usage of his Brothers ; Adding, that tho' the People of *Rome* were not ignorant who had abetted him, Yet they wou'd have 'em impeach'd by Him ; And that, if he made a fair Discovery, he might justly rely on the Clemency of the *Romans*, and their keeping their Word with him ; But if he Conceal'd 'em, that he would not do 'em the least Service by it, and wou'd ruin himself. As soon as *Memmius*

mius had done speaking, and *Jugurtha* was call'd upon for an Answer, the Tribune *C. Bæbius*, who, we told you, had been brib'd, forbid him saying any thing at all. And tho' the People clamour'd and storm'd at it, and Cou'd almost have laid hands on him for Madness, Yet he weather'd it all by his invincible Confidence; So that the Assembly was * forc'd to go Home like a Pack of Fools, having done Nothing; And the Spirits of *Jugurtha* and *Bestia*, with the rest whom the Proceeding had made uneasy, resum'd a new Assurance and Life.

There happen'd to reside in *Rome* at this Juncture a certain *Numidian*, by name *Massiva*, that was a Son of *Gulussa*, and Grandchild of *Masinissa*, and who because he had taken part against *Jugurtha* while the Kings were at Variance, thought it convenient on the Surrender of *Cirta*, and the Murder of *Atherbal*, to fly out of *Africa*. *S. Albinus*, who together with *Q. Minucius Rufus* had been chosen Consul the Year after *Bestia*, put it in the head of this Man, seeing he was of the Blood of *Masinissa*, To take the advantage of That Terror and Odium which *Jugurtha* was under for his Villanies, and sollicite the Senate for the Kingdom of *Numidia*. The bottom was, that the Consul wou'd be doing, and was fond of any War or Disturbance rather than remain idle in his Office. For the Province of *Numidia* had been lotted to him, as *Macedonia* was fall'n to *Minucius*. *Massiva* having begun to Stir in the matter, and *Jugurtha* perceiving that he could not rely upon the Aids of his Partizans, in regard that the Guilt which Some of 'em were under, and the scandalous Character or Timerousness of Others hinder'd their doing him much Service, he directs

* If but One Tribune was Refractory, All the rest Cou'd do Nothing.
Bomil-

Bomilcar his next Kinsman and a trusty Agent on all occasions with a Sum of Money, the Instrument he had wrought with in accomplishing most of his other matters, to hire Ruffians to Assassinate *Massiva*, but to do't with all the Privacy possible, And if They found the latter impracticable, Then to dispatch him any Way in the World. *Bomilcar* in execution of his Orders quickly picks up a Crew of Fellows that were well vers'd in that sort of Trade; Who having throughly inform'd themselves of his Goings out and Comings in, and of all his Hours and Places of Resort, found an Opportunity to Set him; But One of 'em falling upon him rashly before the Coast was clear, and killing him, was laid hold on; And being urg'd by several, but chiefly by the Consul *Albinus* to discover who had employ'd him, reveal'd All. Whereupon *Bomilcar* was adjudg'd a Criminal by the Clear Rules of Natural Justice; without proceeding on the Law of Nations, because he Came to *Rome* with his Master, whose Safe Conduct the Publick had assur'd. *Fugurtha* being found guilty of such Villany had the Confidence to endeavour to Outface it, till he found 'twas known and resented too far for Money or Interest to Avail him. Upon which, tho' On the prosecuting of *Bomilcar* He had given in Fifty of his Friends as Security for his being forth-coming, Yet more Concern'd for his Kingdom than Sureties, He sent him away privately to *Numidia*, for fear that if he shou'd suffer him to be sacrific'd, 'twou'd discourage the rest of his Subjects from obeying him. A few days after he follow'd Himself, being order'd by the Senate to depart out of *Italy*. And 'tis said that while he was upon the Road, after looking several times back towards *Rome* without speaking, He at last broke into these Words, *Mercenary City, and ready for Destruction, as soon as Buyers Can be found to take Thee!*

Albi-

Albinus upon this renewing of the War bestirs himself for Provisions, Money, and all things else that were necessary for an Army, and transports 'em with all speed into *Africa*. For which Countrey a short while after he set out in Person Himself, To the end that either by beating the Enemy, forcing him to surrender, or by other Means he might be able to put an end to the War before the Day for Election of new Magistrates came about, which was not then very far off. But *Jugurtha*, tho' he talk't of surrendering, made it his busines on the other hand to defer it from one time to another, and to find out new Pretences for Delay. This Day he wou'd promise to do it, and the next decline it, As afraid to Venture. Sometimes he wou'd retire before the Enemy, and then that his Army might not be discourag'd, face about and be offensive again. By such alternate and false Shows of War and Peace did He Amuse the Consul. Yet Some there were who thought that *Albinus* was not ignorant of *Jugurtha*'s meaning, and considering the Vigor he show'd at first believ'd such a spinning out of the War must needs be owing to an affected Slackness in Him, More than to any Dexterity in the Enemy. But the time before mention'd being laps'd, and the day for Electing Magistrates Come, *Albinus* departed from the Camp for *Rome*, leaving the Army with his Brother *Aulus* to Command as Legate during his Absence.

It happen'd, The Affairs of the Common-Wealth were at this Time extremely embarrass'd by the fierce Contentions of the Tribunes at *Rome*, two of whom (*P. Lucullus* and *L. Annus*) notwithstanding the Opposition of their Collegues wou'd continue in their Office beyond their Term. The Dispute Concerning which Affair kept off the Elections for a whole Year. Whereupon *Aulus* flattering himself that by

this Delay he had time given him either to finish the War with *Jugurtha*, or Extort Money from him by the Terror of his Arms, draws out his Men from their Winter Quarters in the Month of *January* for an Expedition ; and by long Marches in a rigorous Season presents himself before *Suthul*, a Town where the King's Treasure was deposited. And tho' 'twas impossible to Take or Besiege it, because of the Weather and the Scituation of the Place (for the Walls were built on the Extremity of a Cliff, and All around was a low Flat, which the Overflowing of the Winter Showers had turn'd into a perfect Moraſs) Yet by way of Bravado to scare the King, or else blinded by a covetous Desire to become Master of the Booty in the Place, he erects Vines, throws up Works, and provides Every Thing necessary for a Siege. On the other hand *Jugurtha* perceiving the Vanity and Inexperience of the Legate cunningly heightens and sooths him in his Madneſs, sends him Ambassadors to Desire Peace ; And retires (Himſelf) into Woods and Corners, As if afraid to look him in the Face. This Management so wrought upon *Aulus* that believing he shou'd bring the King to submit, he drew off from before *Suthul*, and follow'd the Mock-Flight of the Enemy into Countries he was unacquainted with, and wherein therefore he Cou'd not be ſure when his Conduct was right or wrong. In the Interim, *Jugurtha* had Crafty Emiſſaries Continually at Work to debauch the Army, and chiefly to bribe the Centurions, and Captains (Some) to Come over to him by Desertion, and (Others) on a Signal to betray their Posts. After he had ſettled all Things to his Mind, on a ſudden and without being dreamt of by *Aulus*, he Comes upon him in the dead of Night, and surrounds his Camp with a great Army. The *Roman* Soldiers surpriz'd by the Alarm ſought (Some) for Places to hide in :

in: Others betook themselves to their Arms: Part shook and trembled for Fear: And Others encourag'd and hearten'd up the timerous, While the *Numidians* in vast Numbers thundred upon 'em on all sides. The Sky was quite overcast with Clouds: The Night dark, and all things in Confusion; So that in short the bravest among 'em knew not which was the safest Course, whether to defend themselves or to fly. In the mean time among those that had been corrupted, a *Ligurian* Cohort, with Two Troops of *Thracian* Horse, and some common Soldiers revolted to the King: And the first Centurion of the third Legion admitting the Enemy at that Quarter which He had taken upon him to make good, the *Numidians* pour'd in like a Torrent: Which put our Men to such a scandalous Rout, that a great part of 'em throwing down their Arms fled for Security to the next Hill. The Night and an Eagerness after Plunder retarded the Enemy from pursuing their Victory. However *Fugurtha* the next Morning coming to a Personal Parley with *Aulus* told him, That tho' he had him and his Army hemm'd in by Famine and the Sword, Yet considering the Inconstancy of Human Things he was willing to dismiss 'em all with their Lives, Provided they first past under the Yoke, settled the Article of a firm Peace with him, and departed *Numidia* in Ten Days. Conditions! which tho' they were hard to be digested and to the last Degree dishonourable to our Army; Yet under the Fears of Death, were submitted to: And a Peace was concluded to the King's Mind.

When the News of this arriv'd at *Rome* the City was fill'd with Dread and Lamentation: Some bewail'd the Honour of the Empire, and Others who were unacquainted with War began to fear for their very Liberty; but All were incens'd against *Aulus*: Yet

chiefly They who had been brave in Battels, who cry'd 'twas a Shame that a Man in Arms shou'd chuse rather to preserve Himself by a base Surrender than by the Sword in his hand. The Consul *Albinus* being apprehensive that this Resentment of his Brother's Miscarriage might reach Himself, and bring him into Danger, Consulted the Senate on the Validity of the Peace, and in the Interim levy'd Recruits for the Army, sent to the Allies and the *Latines* for Aid ; and made the greatest hast in the World to have all things ready to renew the War. The Senate came to a most just Resolution, That without a Power from Them and the People No Peace cou'd be made that was binding. But the Popular Tribunes hindring the Consul from Carrying with him his new rais'd Forces, He went in a few Days to *Africa*. For the Army according to the Articles with *Jugurtha* had quitted *Numidia* and winter'd in the Province. As soon as *Albinus* was got into the Camp, tho' his Soul burn'd with an impatient Desire to march immediately in quest of the Enemy and repair the Disgrace which his Brother was under, Yet finding that over and above being routed the Soldiers were corrupted for want of Discipline ; and become very licentious and dissolute, he determin'd, as Things were, to lie still.

During this *C. Mamilius Limetanus* one of the Popular Tribunes at *Rome*, propos'd to the Commons to pass a Vote for proceeding against All Those who had any ways abetted *Jugurtha* in his Disobeying the Decrees of the Senate, All such as in their Embassies or Generalships had receiv'd any Money of him, Such also as had deliver'd back the Elephants and Deserters, And lastly Those who of their own Heads had presum'd to make any Agreement with the Enemy. Now some of These from a Conscience of their Guilt, and Others afraid of the Fury of the People durst

durst not openly oppose the Vote but were forc'd to make a Show of approving This and Every thing of the like Tendency, Yet gave it under-hand by their Friends and especially their *Italian* Allies and the *Latines* all the Obstruction that possibly They Cou'd. On the other hand 'tis almost incredible how Zealous the Commonalty were in the Affair, and with what Vehemence They Voted, Commanded, Decreed, and Insisted on the Prosecution more out of a Pique against the Nobles, who were Chiefly aim'd at by this Act, than a true Concern for the good of the Publick ; So very predominant was the Spirit of Faction. But while the People were insulting the Nobility, And They scar'd, and flying before 'em ; The City being at the same time in the Consternation before mentioned, *M. Scaurus*, who, We told You, had been *Bestia*'s Legate finding there were three Commissioners to be Nam'd for putting *Mamilius*'s Act in Execution dexterously got himself to be One of the Number. But the Prosecution was manag'd so violently and with such licentious Clamour of the Populace, that being in their turn got uppermost, They treated the Nobles with the same Insolence which the Latter had so often us'd towards the Commons.

This Practice of the Senate and Populace's setting up two Parties in *Rome*, and with all the Corruptions that follow'd thereupon, took beginning not many Years before from Idleness and abounding in Those Riches which Mankind are so vainly fond of. For before the City of *Carthage* was destroy'd the People and Fathers transacted the Affairs of the Republick with Moderation and Unity ; Nor had Fellow Citizens any Contentions for Superiority over each other. The Fear they stood in of the common Enemy kept up a good Understanding among 'em. But after the ground of That Dread was once taken

out of the Way, Ambition and Wantonness the Effects of Prosperity immediately sprung up to Corrupt 'em ; In so much that That very Peace which They so much wish'd for while in Distress prov'd a greater Misfortune to them when they came to enjoy it than the War had been. For the Nobles converted their Dignity into Tyranny , and the People their Liberty into Licentiousness : Every One rapping and rending for himself ; and the City being split into two Parties, The Common-Wealth that lay in the middle was sure to be mangled and torn in Pieces. But the Faction of the Nobles was most powerful : For the Strength of the Commons being not so united, but dispers'd among Multitudes Cou'd do little ; And the Administration of all Affairs both of War and Peace was in the hands of a Few. The Exchequer, the Provinces, Offices of Magistracy, Honours, and Triumphs were at Their disposal ; But the People were kept under by Poverty together with hard Service in the Armies : And while the Generals and a few great Ones engross'd the Spoils and Booty of their Wars , The Parents and Families of the poor Soldiers were oblig'd to turn out of House and Home at the Pleasure of any Overgrown Fellow to whom They had the ill Luck to be Neighbours. Thus Avarice in conjunction with Power, invaded, polluted, and made Prize of whatever it cou'd lay its Hands upon ; trampled on every Thing that was Sacred or Just, and Exceeded All manner of Bounds, till it threw it self into great Miseries. For as soon as there were found among the Nobles Some who preferr'd True Glory to that of Exercising an unjust Dominion, The City of *Rome* was all in a Flame, and the fierce Combustions of Civil War began to break forth with a Thunder like the Mingling of Heaven and Earth together. For when *Tiberius* and *Caius (Gracchi)* whose Ancestors

ftors had done much for the State in the *Carthaginian* and other Wars, began to assert the Rights of the People and to lay open the Oppressions of the Few, the Nobility knowing themselves guilty and not a little dreading the Consequences endeavour'd (what) by their Allies and the *Latines* and (what) by the *Roman Knights* Themselves (whom the Hopes of Admittance into their Order had brought off from the Interest of the Commons) to oppose the *Gracchi* with Might and Main ; And first *Tiberius* who was a Popular Tribune, and a few Years after his Brother *Caius*, One of the Triumvirs for transporting Colonies and who went on with the same Undertaking, were with *M. Fulvius Flaccus* knockt in the Head. But it must be acknowledged the two *Gracchi* were so impatient to obtain their Point that They wanted Temper in the Prosecution of it ; It being more becoming a Patriot to yield (for some time) to Oppression, than to throw it off in a Way too violent. The Nobles having now gotten the better us'd their Victory with a full Swinge ; destroy'd or banish'd Multitudes of the People, and made themselves more terrible for the future, but without acquiring any more Power : A sort of Conduct that oftentimes proves the Ruin of great Cities, while their Parties endeavour'd to Master Each other at any Rate, and take Care to revenge themselves on the vanquish'd side with the last Barbarity. But if in representing the Heats and Proceedings of the several Factions in *Rome*, I should enter into a full Detail of 'em, Or attempt to answer the Plenty of my Subject, Time wou'd sooner fail Me than Matter, and therefore I return to the Thread of My History.

Some time after the Rout of Our Army, and the Infamous Peace agreed to by *Aulus*, *Metellus* and *Silanus* were Chosen Consuls : And in allotting the

Provinces, That of *Numidia* fell to *Metellus*, a Man of Action ; and, tho' an Enemy to the Populace, yet of a clear and untainted Reputation with all Sides. As soon as ever he was settled in his Office , knowing that his Colleague wou'd be jointly concern'd with him in all Matters but the War with *Jugurtha*, He apply'd his Thoughts to the Carrying on the latter : Wherein not thinking it safe to rely much on the Old Army , he immediately made New Levies, sent for Auxiliaries from all Parts, made Preparations of Arms, Horses , and the other Necessary Utensils of War ; got together Abundance of Provisions , and, in fine, Every thing that might help in a War which wou'd ask to be manag'd several Ways , and require a great many sorts of Things : To furnish the Consul with all which, the Allies and the *Latines* by Command of the Senate , The Foreign Princes of their own Accord, and lastly, The whole City in general with the greatest Zeal and Emulation contributed. *Metellus* having gotten all Things in Readiness according to his Wishes, parted for *Numidia*, leaving the City in great Hopes , in regard They knew him not only Master of many surpassing Qualifications , but above all that he bore a Mind that was Proof against all the Assaults of Money ; which They look'd on as no little Matter, Considering how in all the former Campaigns Their own Forces in *Numidia* had been foild , and Those of the Enemy strengthen'd and encourag'd through the Avarice only of some Magistrates. On his Arrival in *Africa* the Army was resign'd to him by *Spius Albinus* the Pro-Consul ; but debauch'd, weak, and quite out of Heart , Capable neither of enduring Fatigue, nor Couragious to look Danger in the Face ; Prompter of their Tongues than They were of their Hands ; Daring enough to Prey upon their Friends , but a Prey Themselves when attack'd by

an

an Enemy : And, to say all in a short Word, Without such a Thing as Discipline among 'em. The New General was more concern'd to observe this great Corruption in the Army , than encourag'd to hope for any thing Considerable from such Forces, tho' ever so Numerous. And therefore, tho' he knew that the Deferring of the Summer Elections had shortned his Time ; and that the Eyes of his Countrymen were all upon him , expecting great Effects from his Management ; He resolv'd not to Enter upon Action before he had again harden'd the Soldiers, and reduc'd 'em to the strict Discipline of their Ancestors. For *Albinus* having determin'd with himself (being aw'd by the Foil which had been given his Brother) not to venture out of the Province during so much of the Summer as he commanded, kept the Army in Standing Camps, till oblig'd either by reason of Stench , or for Want of Forage to break up. Besides , there was no Care taken for a Constant Guard , as is us'd in War. Every One straggled from his Colours as he pleas'd ; and the Scullions of the Camp mingling with the Soldiers rambled the Country Night and Day, plund'ring the Villages, pillaging the Fields, and Carrying off Booties of Men and Cattle , which they afterwards barter'd with the Merchants for Wine. And as for their Allowances of Corn , they wou'd sell them, and buy in their Bread every day as they us'd it. In a Word, whatever can be thought upon that you will call Irregular and Scandalous in an Army, might be found in This , and a great deal more. Now I find *Metellus* to have been as Prudent and Great a Man on this nice Occasion , as he was in the Art of Fighting it self; Temp'ring himself with th' exactest Conduct between an eager Desire of Reformation, and using too strict a Hand to effect it. For by the first Edict he put out, he prohibited

all

all the Encouragements to Sloth: As, That no Sutlers shou'd have the Liberty to Sell any Bread or Flesh ready Dress'd: That no Scullions shou'd follow the Army: And that no Common Soldier shou'd presume, either in the Camp or when upon a March, to Use any Slave or Beast of Carriage. There were other Things he reserv'd to his Discretion to provide against as the Evil happen'd. Moreover, he wou'd almost daily Decamp, and March through rough and uncommon Ways; Make the Soldiers throw up Intrenchments, as if they had an Enemy close by 'em; Set Guards, and Relieve 'em often; and Go the Rounds Himself with his Legates. On a March he wou'd sometimes be in the Van, sometimes appear in the Main Body, and by and by he wou'd visit the Rear, to see that there were no Stragglers from the Ranks; But that all march'd in a Body with their Colours, and Carried their Provisions as well as Arms. And thus, not so much by punishing the Abuses in the Army, as by preventing 'em for the future, he reduc'd it quickly to a perfect Discipline.

Jugurtha being made acquainted by his Spies with these Courses which *Metellus* took, and moreover assur'd from *Rome* of his Integrity, began to doubt the Success of his Affairs, and to think of Surrend'ring in good Earnest: And therefore dispatch'd Ambassadors to the Consul, with Offers to give up every Thing to the *Romans*, without Capitulating for any Thing more than the Saving his own and his Childrens Lives. But *Metellus* knowing by long Experience the *Numidians* to be a Perfidious People, and extremely given to New Things, discours'd the Ambassadors every one apart; and after sounding their Inclinations, and perceiving them capable to be wrought upon, persuades 'em by Extraordinary Promises to Consent to deliver *Jugurtha* into his Hands Alive,

Alive, if possible, or at least Dead: But for what other Answer he returned, he gave it 'em Openly at a Publick Audience. In a few Days after he enters *Numidia* with a well-appointed and resolute Army: Where, quite contrary to the Countenance of War, he found the Cottages full of People, the Fields of Cattle, and the Husbandmen at Work: The King's Officers came out of the Towns and Villages to welcome him; proffering to Supply him with Carriages and Provisions, and to do whatever he shou'd please to Command. But *Metellus* for all these fair Shows was never a whit the less wary, but March'd with as much Order and Circumspection as if there had been an Enemy ready to fall on him: Sent out Parties every way to see that the Coast was clear of Treachery; Suspecting that these Appearances of Surrendring, were only a Stratagem to draw him into Ambushes. Wherefore, with some of the Nimblest Cohorts, and a pick'd Body of Archers and Slingers, he march'd himself in the Front of the Army, leaving his Legate and *Marius* with the Cavalry to bring up the Rear; and Distributing the Auxiliary Horse to each Wing, under Command of the Tribunes of the Legions, and Officers of the Cohorts; To the end that by Mixing them with the Light-Arm'd Foot, the Enemy's Horse might be the better repuls'd, let them fall on which way they wou'd. For *Jugurtha* was a Man of so many Wiles, and so thoroughly acquainted with the Art of War, and the Scituation of all Parts of the Country, that whether he was most Dangerous at a Distance or present, Treating Peace, or in an Actual War, was no easy matter to determine.

There stood not far from the Road which *Metellus* took in his March, a Town of *Jugurtha's* call'd *Vacca*; the most Celebrated Mart of the whole Kingdom, and where a great many *Italian* Merchants

chants both dwelt and resorted for the sake of Trade. The Consul to try the *Namidians* Sincerity, and also from a View that this Place might be of good Use to him, made it a Garrison ; and demanded a Contribution of Corn and other Necessary Things for the War : Believing, as he had Reason to do, that the great Number of *Italians* there, and the Plenty of Provisions wou'd Supply his Army, and also enable them to keep what he had Conquer'd. *Jugurtha* in the midst of these Transactions sent fresh Ambassadors to *Metellus*, to beg for Peace more earnestly than before ; offering to give every thing up to him, except his own and his Childrens Lives : But These too as well as the Former were return'd back, with Temptations from the Consul to betray their Master. But as to the Peace which the King su'd for, he neither positively refus'd, nor granted it ; but held him in Hand, in Expectation that the Ambassadors wou'd Execute the Promises he had gain'd from 'em. But *Jugurtha* Comparing the Deeds and Speeches of *Metellus* together, and finding himself attack'd with his own Weapons ; in as much as Peace was pretended in Words, but in Fact a Vigorous War was Carry'd on, his Chief City in the Hands of the *Romans*, the Enemy become Acquainted with his Country, and his Subjects sollicit-ed to Revolt from him ; He resolv'd, compell'd to it, to Fight it out. Wherefore, having inform'd himself which way the Enemy were marching, and conceiving Hopes from the Nature of the Ground that he shou'd find an Opportunity to Defeat 'em ; he draws together all the Troops and other Force he cou'd possibly make, and by private Ways and a shorter Cut gets before *Metellus*'s Army. Now there was in that Part of *Numidia*, which upon the Dividing it fell to *Atherbal*, a River rising Southward call'd *Muthul*, near Twenty Thousand Paces from whence

was

was a great Mountain (of the same Length) that was wild and altogether Uncultivated: From about the Middle of which there grew out another Hill to an immense Height, which was cover'd over with wild Olives, Myrtles, and such other sorts of Trees as are Natural to a Barren and Sandy Soil; but the Plain between that and the River was all a Desart, and without Water; except the Parts of it that border'd on the Stream, for those were set pretty thick with Bushes, and abounded also with Cattle and Husbandmen. Now on this Hill, at the Foot of which and across the Mountains the Road ran, *Fugurtha* sat down with his Army, Extending his Line as far as was possible; and after giving the Command of the Elephants and part of the Infantry to *Bomilcar*, with particular Orders what he shou'd do, he went (Himself) with all the Cavalry and the Residue of the Foot, who were Pick'd Men, and took Post nearer to the Mountains: Then Riding from Rank to Rank, 'He beseech'd and Conjur'd 'em to call up the Memory of their former Valour 'and late Victory, and with the same Resolution to 'defend themselves and the Kingdom of *Numidia*, 'from the Avarice of the *Romans*. Telling 'em They 'were only to deal with such as they had once al- 'ready forc'd under the Yoke: That tho' there was 'now a New Leader, the Men still continued the 'same: That all that the greatest General cou'd do 'by way of Precaution, he had taken Care for: 'That he had made Choice of the Upper Ground: 'That they knew the Scituuation of the Place, which 'the Enemy was utterly Ignorant of: That they 'were not over-match'd in Numbers, nor to Fight 'with Superiors in the Art of War: That therefore 'they ought to be Resolute, and prepar'd to attack 'the *Romans* on the Signal given; And that this was 'the Day wou'd finish their Conquests, and put a
'Peri-

‘ Period to all their Toils, or prove the Beginning
‘ of greater Miseries. Then he singled out all those
he had rewarded with Money or Preferment for
their Valour, put ‘em in mind of the Favours he had
done ‘em, and set ‘em in View of the rest of the
Army, as Examples of Bravery and Patterns for En-
couragement. In a Word, He dextrously address’d
himself to every Man’s particular Temper; and what
by promising and beseeching some, and threatening
others, endeavour’d to excite ‘em. In the mean
time, they discover’d Marching Across the Moun-
tain *Metellus* with his Army, who did not dream of
his Enemies being near him: But soon observing an
Odd Sight (For tho’ the *Numidians* lay close, both
Men and Horses, behind the Bushes, the Skreen was
too low to hinder any body from taking Notice there
was Something Uncommon; And yet the Nature of
the Place was such, and they had hid themselves and
their Ensigns so Cunningly, that it was not possible
to descry them fully:) was at first doubtful what it
shou’d be: But having quickly satisfy’d himself how
the Matter stood, he made an Halt; And present-
ly changing the Order of his March, made his
Flank which was next the Enemy thrice as strong as
it was before; plac’d several Spearmen and Slingers
between the Battalions or Maniples of Foot; plant-
ed all the Cavalry in the Wings; And after a brief
Excitation to his Soldiers, as the Shortness of the
Time wou’d give him leave, caus’d the Army in this
Figure to file off to the Left, and towards the
Plain.

But when he perceiv’d the *Numidians* were quiet
and delay’d coming down from the Hills, he gave
Orders to his Legate *Rutilius* with the Light Cohorts
and part of the Horse to march down before towards
the River, and there fecure a Place to Encamp in.
Expecting that the Enemy wou’d pour down, And
by

by frequent Skirmishes and attacking his Flank, do their utmost to impede his Design; And (since They doubted of Vanquishing by their Arms,) To wear out his Men with Fatigue and Drought. After *Rutilius* follow'd the Consul, tho', because of the Enemy and the Ground, (but slowly,) in the Manner indeed as he had mov'd before. *Marius* had the bringing up of the Rear, while Himself march'd with the Horse on the Left, who were then made the Van of the Army. When *Fugurtha* saw that *Metellus*'s Rear was past the Front of his own Men, he possess'd himself with 2000 Foot of the Mountain from whence the *Romans* had descended, in order to prevent their Regaining it, and Securing themselves upon it, if Routed: And immediately after giving the Signal for his Men to Attack, He fell upon the Enemy; Some of them made Havock in their Rear, Others charg'd 'em on the Right and Left, pressing furiously upon all Quarters, and attempting to break the Ranks of the *Romans*: The more Forward and Brave among whom were fought with only in a shifting Manner, and wounded at a Distance, without being able to strike again, or to close with their Adversaries. The Horse, who were fore-instructed by *Fugurtha*, wou'd not as the *Romans* advanc'd against them keep in a Body together, but disperse: By which means, if they cou'd not deter the Enemy from following, who must scatter to pursue 'em, They wheel'd about, and being more in Numbers Surpriz'd and Charg'd 'em on every side. And then, if the Hill in this flying Fight were more Commodious for 'em than the Plain, their Horses wou'd nimbly Scour with their Riders through the Bushes, being us'd to the Exercise, and leave the *Romans* incumbred behind in Shrubs and Thickets they were unacquainted with. In the mean time, the Posture of Things was Uncertain, Bloody, Dire-
ful

ful and Confus'd. The Men being scatter'd from each other, Some fled and Others pursu'd, without keeping to Ensigns or Ranks ; but according as any one was attack'd, he repuls'd his Adversary as well as he cou'd. Arms, Lances, Horses, Soldiers, Enemies and Friends were mingled together : Nothing was Acted by Counsel or Command, but Chance rul'd and directed All. The Day was now pretty far spent, and yet the Event of the Battel doubtful. But the Armies beginning at length to tire, as faint with Fighting and the Heat together ; and *Metellus* observing the *Numidians* to flag, He gets his Men by Degrees into a Body, reduces 'em into their Old Ranks, and plants 4 Legionary Cohorts over against the Enemy's Foot ; A great many of whom had for Weariness repos'd themselves on the Upper Ground. Then he begg'd and conjur'd his Men that they wou'd not fail him at the last Pinch, nor suffer themselves to be beaten by an Enemy, which it self was just ready to fly : Adding, That they had no Camp nor Fortrefs to make to, if they ran away ; but must look to be sav'd by their Arms only. In the mean time, *Fugurtha* was not at all wanting on the other side ; but Rode about, Encourag'd his Soldiers, brought 'em on to a fresh Attack, Charg'd in Person every where with a Pick'd Body to make an Impression ; Supported his own Men that were stag- gering, press'd such of the Enemy as waver'd, And as for Those he cou'd not break, he held 'em in Play by a distant Fight. Thus Contended with each other these Two Great and Accomplish'd Generals, perfectly match'd in their own Persons, but not so in other Respects : For *Metellus* had much the better Soldiers, but then the Ground was Disadvantagious to him ; and every thing else except only that of Men was on *Fugurtha*'s side. But at last the *Romans* considering with themselves that they had neither any

any Place to retreat to , nor cou'd come to a Close Fight with the Enemy , and also that the Evening was drawing on , Charg'd (as they were order'd) up the Hill ; From which Post the *Numidians* being driven, were quite routed, tho' but few slain ; for most of 'em 'scap'd by the Swiftness of their Heels, and their Enemy's Unacquaintedness with the Country. In the mean time , as soon as *Bomilcar*, to whom had been given , as we said before , the Command of the Elephants and part of the Infantry, perceiv'd *Rutilius* to be pass'd by him , he steals his Men by degrees into the Plain ; And while the Legate was hasting to the River (to which we told you he had been detach'd) with great Silence, as the Case requir'd , he puts his Forces in Order of Battel : Not omitting at the same time to send out Spies to Observe the Enemy. And when he understanded that *Rutilius* was Encamp'd , and Thoughtless of all Danger, and heard moreover the great Noise that came from the Battel *Jugurtha* was Engag'd in ; Fearing that the Legate upon hearing it too might march back to assist his Countrymen ; To hinder him from it, He extends his Line ; which before, distrusting the Valour of his Men , was embattell'd thick and close together ; and thus advances towards *Rutilius*. The *Romans* perceiving all on a sudden a very great Cloud of Dust , at first believ'd it to be rais'd by the Wind that swept it up from the Sandy Soil: For they cou'd not see through the Plain clearly, because of the thick Bushes it was set with. But finding it to be a continu'd Thing , and to come nearer and nearer to them , according as *Bomilcar*'s Army approach'd ; They gues'd the Cause , and running to their Arms , drew up to Defend their Camp. As soon as the Enemy was come up , the Battel was join'd with a mighty Shout. The *Numidians* stood to it for some time , as long as they had

any Dependance on their Elephants: But when they saw them entangled in the Thickets, and so at the Enemy's Mercy, they fled, and by the Favour either of the Twilight or Hills and Throwing down their Arms, most of 'em escap'd. Forty Elephants were kill'd on the Spot; and the rest (being only four) were taken. The *Romans*, tho' much fatigu'd with their March, with Ordering their Camp, and the late Fight, yet because *Metellus* tarry'd longer than they thought he wou'd, advanc'd to meet him; Marching along with great Diligence, and in Order of Battel as they then were: The *Numidian* Subtilty being so great, as not to allow of the least Remissness. On the first Approach of the Two Bodies, through the Darkness of the Night and the Noise on each side, like that of an Enemy coming on, They were Both alarm'd and in great Disorder; And the matter, for want of Consideration, was like to have had the most fatal Issue; But that the Forlorns of each Army being sent before, discover'd the Mistake: And then their Fears were turn'd into Joy, and the Soldiers merrily call to one another, Tell of their own Feats in the Battel, and hear their Fellows relate theirs; And not One, to be sure, fails to cry up his own Valour to the Skies. For such is the Nature of Human Things, that in case of Victory even Cowards shall brag: Whereas Defeat (on the other hand) casts a Reflection on the most Gallant.

Metellus rested four Days in the Camp that his Legate had mark'd out; Took Care for Recovery of the Wounded; Gave Rewards according to Custom to such of the Men as had distinguish'd themselves; Made a Speech to the whole Army full of Praises and Thanks to 'em All; Urg'd 'em to Act with the same Bravery in what remain'd to be done, being little; Adding, That as to the Conquest of Their Enemy They had fought for that sufficiently already, and

and that their Toils to come wou'd be only for Booty. Nevertheless, in the mean time he sent out Deserters and other Spies, to learn whither *Fugurtha* was retir'd? What Force he had got about him? How he brook'd his late Defeat? And what Designs he was Carrying on? 'Twas found that he had made his Retreat into Woods and Fastnesses fortify'd by Nature, and rais'd an Army more numerous than the former; but such a one as was Weak and Undisciplin'd, and better Skill'd in Husbandry than War: The Reason was, that none of the *Numidians*, except only the Horse-Guards, accompany'd the King after the Rout; but every one went whither he pleas'd: It being no Disgrace for their Soldiers so to do, because it's the Custom. *Metellus* perceiving by this Intelligence, that *Fugurtha* had so much Stomach left, That the War wou'd be renew'd, and nothing to be done in't but just as the King himself pleas'd; That he fought him not upon equal Terms; And that his Victories cost him dearer than a Beating it self did his Enemy; He resolv'd not to concern himself further about Fighting Pitch'd Battels, but to manage the War in another Method. To which purpose he marches his Army into the Richest Part of *Numidia*; Lays wast the Country before him; Takes and Burns several Castles and Towns, that were slightly Fortify'd or Ungarison'd; Puts the Male Youth to the Sword, and gives his Men a Liberty of Plunder. This struck such a Terror in the People, that they crowded in to make their Submissions, Gave Hostages, Supply'd him with Corn, and all other Necessaries in Abundance; and receiv'd Garrisons in all Places that the Consul thought fit to secure. These Proceedings disturb'd *Fugurtha* more than the Loss of any Battel; In regard that He, whose only Advantage lay in making a flying War of it, was now oblig'd to follow his Adversary, and

to wage War in the Conquests of the *Romans*, 'Tho' Unable to defend the Residue of his own Territories. However, in this Distress of his Affairs he took the best Course that he cou'd: And therefore order'd the Gross of his Army to remain mostly in one Place, and with only a Pick'd Body of Horse chose (Himself) to follow *Metellus*; And by Night-Marches and By-Roads, found means (when least expected) to Surprize the *Roman* Foragers and Stragglers; A great many of whom were kill'd Naked and Unarm'd, and several taken; and scarce a Man of 'em got off without some Mark of his Kindness in a Wound. Which done, and before such time as any Succour cou'd be sent from the Camp, the *Numidians* were vanish'd to the next Hills.

In the mean time there was very great Rejoycing at *Rome*, on the News of *Metellus*'s Conduct and Success; In regard that in managing himself and his Army, he had kept up to the Discipline of the *Romans*, Fought in Disadvantagious Ground, and yet been Victorious by plain Valour; Made himself Master of the Enemy's Country, and forc'd *Fugurtha*, who was grown insolent through the Cowardice of *Aulus*, to seek for Shelter, and owe his Safety to Flight and Defarts. Wherefore the Senate appointed Thanks to the Immortal Gods, for the Prosperity of their Arms: The City, in a Consternation before and Uneasy about the Event of the War, clear'd up, and became Jovial; And the Name of *Metellus* every where Famous: Incited by which, he doubled his Vigour, pursu'd Conquest with the more Ardour, and made all the Haste in the World; yet still on his Guard against any Surprize. And lastly, He forgot not the Ballafting Thought, That Envy treads on the Heels of Glory. Thus the more Reputation he won, the more increas'd his Vigilance and Cares: Nor after the last Attempt of *Fugurtha*, wou'd

wou'd he suffer his Men to straggle for Plunder. And when he wanted Corn or Forage, he made a Detachment of all the Cavalry, with some Cohorts to Cover the Foragers ; Led one part of the Army Himself, and left the other to *Marius*'s Care ; Destroy'd the Country mostly by Fire, without looking much after Booty ; Encamp'd in Two several Places at a small Distance from each other : And if there was any Occasion that requir'd the Force of the whole Army, They join'd ; But else, to spread the Terror of their Arms, and to drive the Country the better before them, They chose to Act in separate Bodies. In the mean time, to observe their Motions, *Fugurtha* took his March by the Hills, Watching for a fit Opportunity to Attack 'em : And wherever he heard the *Romans* were to come, he took care to poison the Springs, (which were scarce too) and destroy the Forage. Sometimes he wou'd show himself to *Metellus*, and a little after be up with *Marius* : By and by he wou'd fall on their Rear ; and upon their Facing about, vanish to the Hills : Then return and alarm 'em again, (Now) in one Part, and (Anon) in another. Still declining a Set Battel ; and yet he wou'd let 'em have no Rest : Proposing only by thus Fatiguing them, to prevent their Acting to any purpose.

The *Roman* General finding himself so harrass'd by the crafty Management of the Enemy ; and that he cou'd not bring him to a fair Engagement ; resolv'd to lay Siege to *Zama*, a Great City, and the Chief Fortress of that Part of the Kingdom that it stood in : Supposing, as he had Reason to do, that *Fugurtha* wou'd march to Relieve the Place ; and that thereupon a Battel might follow. But the King learning the Design by Deserters, got before *Metellus*'s Army by great Marches ; and arriving at *Zama*, encourag'd the Inhabitants to Defend the City, and

Reinforc'd Them with a Body of Deserters, the most Desperate Fellows of all his Army ; As knowing 'twas Death for 'em to flinch and be taken. Moreover, he promis'd to come Himself in due Season with an Army to their Relief. Having thus Settled his Affairs there, He retires into the privatest Part of the Country ; and soon after receiv'd Intelligence, That *Metellus* in his March had detach'd *Marius* with a few Cohorts, to Convoy a Quantity of Corn from *Sicca*, the first Town that had revolted from the King after his Defeat. Whereupon he hasted thither by Night, at the Head of a Chosen Body of Horse, and attack'd the *Romans* just as they were marching forth at the Gate ; Calling out at the same time aloud to the Inhabitants to fall upon their Rear ; Telling 'em that Fortune did now present 'em with the Opportunity of a Brave Exploit, which if they embrac'd, that for ever after He might Enjoy his Kingdom in Peace, and They their Liberties without Disturbance. And if *Marius* had not Charg'd him immediately, and bestirr'd himself to get out of the Place, The whole Town, or the greatest Part wou'd have risen upon him, in favour of the King ; So strangely fickle is the *Numidian* Temper. But *Jugurtha*'s Soldiers, who animated by their Prince stood to it for a little time, feeling the Fury of the *Romans* doubled, fled with the Loss of some of their Men, and *Marius* arriv'd safe at *Zama*.

This Town was Scituate in a Plain and fortify'd better by Art than Nature, furnish'd with a Good Magazine and Garison, and provided, in shrost, with all Necessaries. *Metellus* having got all things in readiness as well as the Time and Ground woud allow him, causes his Army to Invest the Place, and appoints the Legates their several Posts ; After which upon a Signal given his Men set up a General Shout, which

which had not the Effect to terrify the *Numidians*, who without being disorder'd stood resolute and prepar'd to receive 'em ; So the Storm began. The *Romans* after their several ways fought (Some) with Slings at a distance ; fresh Men Continually Succeeding as the Wounded or Tir'd went off ; Others made closer Approaches (Part) to Undermine the Walls, And (the rest) to fix their Ladders for Scaling , and Dispatch the Business with Sword in Hand. As for the Besieg'd on the other hand, They pour'd down Stones, Darts, Stakes, and Firebrands on the Heads of the next Assailants. Nor did even Those who skulk'd at a Distance notwithstanding their Caution escape free ; For the greatest part were wounded by the Darts that Came from the Engines or were thrown by hand ; Insomuch that the Brave and the Coward Soldier both encounter'd the same Danger, tho' not with the same Honour to Both.

During this Dispute before *Zama*, the King at the Head of a great Army falls unexpectedly on the *Roman* Camp, and found means by the remissness of the Guard, who look'd for nothing less than an Enemy, to break in through one of the Turn-pikes : Which put our Men in a Consternation, and Every one upon shifing for himself, as the manner is upon such Surprises. Some betook themselves to their Heels, Others to their Arms, and a great Part of 'em were slain or at least wounded. Of the whole Army Not above Forty (rememb'ring they were *Romans*) Rallied together and possess'd themselves of a little Eminent, Maintain'd it against all the Efforts of the Enemy to dislodge 'em, return'd the Darts that were thrown at 'em on the Senders, Who being thick Crowded together, hardly One that was flung back on 'em miss'd of doing good Execution. Whenever the *Numidians* were so hardy as to Come near 'em, They bestirr'd themselves, Laying about 'em with

the utmost Fury, and killing, slaying, and putting them to flight. *Metellus* in the Heat of his Attack of the City, hearing a Noise like fighting behind him, turn'd his Horse, and perceiving a Rout, and that the Flyers made toward himself, rightly judg'd 'em to be his own Men ; Whereupon he first detatch'd away all the Horse to the Camp, and immediately dispatch'd *C. Marius* with the Confederate Cohorts, beseeching and Conjuring him with Tears in his Eyes, by their Mutual Friendship, and by the Public Welfare, Not to suffer the Honour of his Arms after having been so Victorious to be fullied by any Disgrace at last, Nor to let the Enemy Get clear of him without His taking a full Revenge. *Marius* quickly perform'd his Orders ; And the *Numidians* were driven back to their Fastnesses, but being incumbred by the Works of the Camp , while some tumbled over the Ramparts , and others by pressing too thick and fast to get off through the narrow Passages hinder'd One another's Escape, a great Number of 'em was kill'd. *Metellus* not succeeding in the Storm return'd with his Army in the Evening to the Camp. The next day before he went to renew th' Assault, He drew up All his Cavalry by the Camp, and order'd 'em to be watchful on That Side where he expected *Fugurtha* wou'd appear, and Committed the Gates or Turn-Pikes with the Parts adjoining to the Guard of the Tribunes, and then march'd Himself to the Town, and attempted the Walls, as the day before. In the mean of which *Fugurtha* on a sudden and as it were from an Ambush Attack'd the Camp. Our Front being a little surpriz'd were at first put into some Disorder, but were soon supported by the other Troops. So that the *Numidians* cou'd not have stood it, if it had not been for the great Execution done by their Foot, who were mingled with their Horse ; For the latter depend-

depending on this Intermixture did not Charge as they us'd to do, by falling on and retiring again, but bore direct and firm on Our Men, did Their utmost to disorder and break them, and so leave 'em (half overcome) A Prey to Their Foot, who were ready at dispatching them. At the same time that this was transacting, the Dispute before *Zama* was sharp. Every Legate and Tribune in his Post relying on Himself and not on his Fellows, made the greatest Efforts that were possible. On the other side the Inhabitants made a Vigorous Resistance, flew to every Quarter to defend it, and were more eager upon mauling their Enemies than mindful of saving their own Flesh. A Confused Noise of Rejoicings, of Groanings, and of Encouragements was every where to be heard; The Sky Rung with the Clattering of Arms; and Showers of Arrows fell on Each Side. The Besieg'd at length observing their Enemies to abate something of the Heat of their Storm made use of the Opportunity to take a View of the Fight at the Camp, and as *Jugurtha* prevail'd or lost ground, You shou'd sometimes perceive 'em to be overjoy'd, and by and by in a great Confusion. Moreover, as far as they Cou'd be heard or seen by their Countreymen, They wou'd Call out to them, excite and encourage them, make Motions and Signs with their Hands, and wave their Bodies this Way and That, like Men avoiding or darting Weapons. This was no sooner observ'd by *Marius* (for 'twas He that commanded in this Quarter) but he purposedly slacken'd the Fury of his Men, feigning to be diffident of the Event of the Battel, and gave them more leisure than before to View the whole Transaction at the Camp. But while They were gazing intently at their Friends, He Attacks the Walls with extreme Fury, in so much that the Soldiers

ers mounting their Ladders had almost gain'd the Top of the Works, when the Townsmen falling immediately to their Business, heav'd down Stones, ply'd 'em with Firebrands, and whatever Missive Weapons They Cou'd meet with. For some time Our Men stood it, But at last some of the Ladders breaking and Those upon 'em being miserably maim'd, The Rest shifting Each as he Cou'd, but hardly any escaping free, and a great part of 'em Cover'd with Wounds, quitted the Assault, And Night put an End to the Fray on both sides. *Metellus* seeing such ill Success, and that he was not able to take the Town, Nor yet to bring *Fugurtha* to a Battel without the Advantage of the Ground or an Ambush; And besides, that the Summer was now spent, rais'd the Siege, and clapt Garisons in fuch Cities as had revolted to him, and were strong either by Art or Nature, and the rest of his Army he put into Winter-Quarters in the Province next to *Numidia*. But he did not give up his time there (like some Commanders) to Luxury or Idleness; but finding Force had prevail'd but little Contriv'd to Conquer the King by Stratagem, and to turn the Treachery of his Friends into Arms. To which End he tampers with *Bomilcar*, the Man who had been at *Rome* with *Fugurtha*, and had fled away dishonourably from thence, to avoid the Process for Murdering *Massiva*, after having given in Sureties for his Forth-Coming, but who because of the great Favour he was in with his Master was the ablest to betray him; And by making him many large Promises got him first to a private Conference; And then giving his solemn Word, Upon his bringing *Fugurtha* Alive or Dead to him, to procure the Senate to grant him Pardon and the Enjoyment of All that he Then had, He quickly wrought over the *Numidian*, who was both perfidious in his own Nature, and also afraid that in Case of Peace He Himself

self by a special Article shou'd be deliver'd up as a Sacrifice to the *Romans*. Wherefore with the very first Opportunity while *Jugurtha* was troubled and bewailing his Misfortunes he Comes up to him with Tears in his Eyes, and Conjures him to provide for Himself and Children and the *Numidian* Nation that deserv'd so well of him; puts him in Mind That They were always beaten, That Thousands had been made Prisoners or kill'd, That the Countrey was wasted, and the Kingdom impoverish'd, That he had sufficiently try'd the Valour of his Men, and the good Will of his Fortune towards him; And in Fine, intreats him to look to it that his Subjects finding Himself delay it, don't Consult their Interest Themselves. By These and other Arguments of that kind he disposes the King's Mind to a Surrender. Whereupon Commissioners were dispatch'd to the General to let him know that *Jugurtha* was ready to pay Obedience to all his Commands, and, without making any Conditions, to deliver up Himself and his Kingdom to his Generosity. *Metellus* presently sends for all of the Degree of Senators from their several Quarters, and holds a Council with them and others whom he thought ablest to assist on the Occasion; And agreeable to the Resolutions thereof (herein keeping to the way of our Ancestors) Orders the Commissioners to tell their Master, he must send him 200000 Weight of Silver, all his Elephants, and some Arms and Horses. This Demand being presently Comply'd with, The next was, That they should bring all the Deserters in Chains. A great Part of 'em were brought accordingly; but a Few on the first Rumour of a Surrender had retir'd into *Mauritania* to King *Bocchus*. *Jugurtha*, after he was thus stript of his Arms and Money, and the Flower of his Troops, and Came in the last place to be summon'd to yield Himself to the Conqueror at *Tifidium*, began to stagger

ger and Change his Mind, and from an inward Consciousness of his own Villanies to dread the Effects he knew he deserv'd. And after passing several Days without determining what to do, sometimes as quite tir'd with Misfortunes, preferring any thing before War, and anon reflecting how very grievous the Fall wou'd be from a Kingdom into Slavery ! Having still a great deal of Strength left, He resolves at length to renew the War. In the mean of which the Senate at *Rome* at a Consult about the Command of the Provinces, had Decreed That of *Numidia* to *Metellus*.

At the same time *C. Marius* being by Accident at *Utica*, and sacrificing to the Gods, was told by the Seer, There were Signs portending great and surprising Things to attend him, and advis'd, whatever Designs he had, To trust the Gods and pursue 'em boldly ; To Venture his Fortune upon all Occasions ; and That All his Enterprizes wou'd succeed to his Wishes. Now for some time before this the Mind of *Marius* had been carried away with a very strong Ambition for the Consulate : And, setting aside the Antiquity of a Family, he had Every Thing that might make good his Pretensions : Industry, Probiety, Frugality and Courage, wonderful Skill in the Art of War, A Shunner of Pleasure, and Despiser of Riches, and Covetous of nothing but only Glory. He was born and past his Childhood at *Arpinum*, and as soon as able to bear Arms, being averse to the Studies of *Græcian* Eloquence and Town-Refinements, he listed in the Army ; Into which Coming uncorrupted and having the Advantage of good Discipline He quickly grew a most Valuable Man. Wherefore when he first put up for Military Tribune at a Meeting of the Commons, tho' the greatest part of 'em knew not his Face, He became soon known by his Fame and carry'd it by the Voices of all the Tribes. From the time of Entring into
That

That Post he advanc'd from one Office to another, and acquitted himself so happily in Each that he always seem'd to deserve a greater. But with all his Merit at that Juncture, (tho' he afterwards ran mad with Ambition) he durst not aim so high as the Consulate : For tho' the People at That Time, dispos'd of most of the other Offices, Yet the Nobles wholly Engrossing This enjoy'd it by turns among Themselves ; And no Commoner tho' Ever so worthy or distinguish't by brave Acts he had perform'd was look't on as qualify'd for That Dignity , but rather a great Disparagement to it. *Marius* observing the Predictions of the Priests to agree so well with his own Ambition, desir'd *Metellus* he might go to *Rome*, in order to set up for the Consulship. Now tho' the General was a Man of Worth and had many great and surpassing Qualities, Yet he had withal the Vice of the Nobility, a Loftiness of Mind and Disdain of others. He was therefore not a little surpriz'd at his making so extraordinary a Request, and advis'd him as 'twere in a friendly way not to pursue a Design so rash ; Telling him That there were some things that were not fit to be aspir'd to by Every Body ; That he had reason to be satisfy'd with his present Sphere ; And in fine , That he ought to Consider well before he ask't of the People of *Rome* what the Rules of the Government deny'd him. After he had urg'd This and more without being able to divert him from his purpose, he told him at last That as soon as Ever he cou'd spare him from the Affairs of the Army, he shou'd go. *Marius* Continuing afterwards to press him on the same Subject, 'tis reported he should say, That He had no need to be in so much hast, and that 'twou'd be time enough for him to stand with his Son. Now the Young Gentleman was then a Soldier with his Father *Metellus*, and about Twenty. This Return as it whetted *Marius* to prosecute his Intent but the more

Eager-

Eagerly, so it highly incens'd him against *Metellus*. He gave Himself entirely up to Ambition and Anger, the worst of Counsellors : Nor stuck at doing or saying any Thing that tended to the making himself Popular ; He indulg'd his Soldiers in their Winter-Quarters in greater Liberties than They us'd to have ; talk'd reflectingly among the Merchants, who resided in great Numbers at *Utica*, concerning *Metellus*'s Management of the War, and bragg'd what He wou'd do Himself ; That if he Cou'd have but half the Army, He wou'd soon bring *Fugurtha* in Chains ; And that the Consul spun out the War on purpose, being naturally Vain, of a Regal Pride, and very desirous to retain his Power. The Merchants were ready to believe All, Their Trade suffering by the Continuance of the War ; and Those who Therefore desire Peace, think there's never haft enough made to it. Moreover, there being in our Army a certain *Numidian*, by Name *Gauda*, a Son of *Manastabal*, and Grandchild of *Masinissa*, and whom *Micipsa* had appointed by his Will the Next in Remainder of the Kingdom of *Numidia*, but a Man Eaten up with Diseases to a degree that affected his Understanding ; And this Person having made Application for a Seat to be granted him next *Metellus*, and a little afterwards that the Consul wou'd assign him a Troop of *Roman* Horse for his Guard, *Metellus* fairly refus'd him both, The first, because the People of *Rome* never allow'd it but to real Kings ; and the latter, because He thought it a less'ning to the *Roman* Horse to attend a *Numidian*. Upon which *Marius* knowing him disturb'd, comes to him, and offers him his Assistance to procure Satisfaction against the General, for these Affronts which he had put upon him ; blows up the Man, who by reason of his Maladies was scarce Himself, with flattering Speeches ; Putting

ting him in mind that he was a Prince, a Great Man, and the Grandson of *Masinissa*: That if *Jugurtha* were kill'd or taken, the Crown of *Numidia* wou'd immediately be His; And that This shou'd quickly be brought to pass, were He but Consul, and to manage the War. These Discourses with the Hopes of a Peace so wrought upon *Gauda*, and the Merchants and Soldiers, that they wrote Letters to their Friends at *Rome*, inveighing against the Conduct of *Metellus*, and desiring that *Marius* might be made General. Thus in a generous Way, seemingly, and without the Scandal of his own seeking it, was the Consulate sollicited by many for *Marius*. Besides, it happen'd at the same time that the Populace, who had gotten the Advantage of the Nobles by *Mamilius's Law*, were for setting up Commoners: So that every Thing went well for his Interest.

Jugurtha having, as I said before, laid aside the Thoughts of Surrendring, and resolv'd upon Renewing the War, bestirs himself with the utmost Diligence; makes Preparations in all Haste; quickly Levies a New Army; Endeavours both by Promises and Threats to recover the Cities that had fall'n off from him; Fortifies all his Strong-Holds; provides Stores of Arms and Ammunition, in Lieu of what he had deliver'd up; Sollicites the *Roman* Slaves to desert to him; and tempts those in the Garisons with his Money: In a Word, He leaves Nothing undone, but Essays All Things that might do him any Service.

Accordingly, in the City of *Vacca*, wherein *Metellus* had plac'd a Garrison on Occasion of *Jugurtha's* pretending to submit; The Chief Inhabitants suff'ring themselves to be wrought upon by the King's Importunities, and indeed having never been heartily his Enemies, form'd a Conspiracy against the *Romans*; Knowing that the Common People, as is usual,

usual, but more especially amongst the *Numidians*, being of a faithless and fickle Temper, inclin'd to Disturbances, and affecting Changes, wou'd naturally join with them in the Thing. Having settled the Method, the Execution of it was agreed upon to be Three Days after; Because there was then to be a great Festival that was solemniz'd over all *Africa*; and which wou'd therefore be rather thought a Day devoted to Diversions and Luxury, than design'd for a Tragedy to be acted on. As soon as it came, They invited the Tribunes and Centurions of the Garrison, with *Turpilius* the Governor, to an Entertainment at their several Houses; Where in the midst of their Cups and Feasting, They slew 'em every one but *Turpilius*. Then They fell upon the Common Soldiers, who were straggling here and there in the Streets, Naked and Unarm'd in Respect of the Day, and as not having their Officers to look to them. The Rabble immediately rose upon 'em also, being led to it partly by the Command of their Chiefs, and partly by their Love of Tumult it self, and a Propensity to Mischief or any thing that was new; tho' without knowing the Business, or a Reason for't. The *Roman* Soldiers being thus surpriz'd, and doubtful what they had best do, ran in a Fright and Hurry to the Castle, where lay their Ensigns and Arms; But the Enemy having slip't in before and secur'd the Gates, prevented their Entrance. And to add to their Distress, the Women and Children threw Stones and whatever they cou'd meet with down upon their Heads, from the Tops of the Houses. So that there was no means of Guarding against an Evil so various and uncertain, or resisting the very weakest of our Kind: But the Strong and Feeble, the Valiant and the Coward, were forc'd to succumb by the same Death, without being able to revenge themselves. In the Heat of this

this most direful Massacre, wherein the *Numidians* glutted their Fury, the Gates of the Town being all shut, the Governor Himself was the only Man who got away without being hurt; but whether through the Kindness of his Host, or by Chance, or a private Compact, is unknown. However it was, we may look upon him as a Man of no manner of Honour, for preserving so poorly his own Life, while a whole *Roman* Garrison perish'd.

When the News hereof was brought to *Metellus*, after being pensive for some time, he retir'd from Company very much concern'd: But Anger getting the better of his Grief, He resolves upon an immediate Revenge. To which end, about Sun-set he draws out the Legion that winter'd with himself, and at the same time gets in a Readines as many *Numidian* Horse as he cou'd; And hasting away, arrives about Three the next Day in a certain Plain surrounded by Eminences on all sides: Where the Soldiers, who were throughly fatigu'd with the Greatnes of their March, beginning to Mutiny, He smooths 'em up, and puts 'em in mind that they had but a Mile now to *Vacca*; and that it became 'em to go through the little Labour that was left 'em with Cheerfulness; since it was to take a Revenge for the Deaths of their Valiant but Murder'd Country-men: Adding besides, That to Reward their Toils, He design'd to give up the Town to 'em for Pillage. This having new-spirited the Men, He causes the Foot that made up the Rear to march as close together as possible, and to keep their Colours from being seen; but orders the Horse who compos'd the Front, to extend themselves as wide as they cou'd. As soon as ever the People of *Vacca* perceiv'd an Army approaching towards them, they judg'd (rightly) at first that 'twas *Metellus*, and thereupon shut up their Gates. But observing They did not

ruin the Country, and seeing *Numidian* Horse in the Van, they alter'd their Minds; and concluding 'twas *Fugurtha*, came out with mighty Joy to receive him. Upon which, *Metellus* giving the Signal, His Soldiers immediately fell to work; Some killing and slaying the Rabble that were scatter'd all over the Fields; Others running to secure the Gates; While Part seiz'd upon the Tower and Forts: The Rage of their Minds, and the Thoughts of Booty making 'em forget the Weariness of their Bodies. Thus a Great and Opulent City became a Sacrifice to the Sword and Plunder; And the *Vaccensians* had no more than a Two days Enjoyment of their Villany. *Turpilius*, who, as we said before, was the only Person that escap'd from the Massacre, being call'd to Account by *Metellus* for his Behaviour, and saying but little for himself, was Condemn'd, and after being Scourg'd was put to Death. He was no *Roman*, but a Citizen of *Collatia*.

In the interim *Bomilcar*, at whose instance *Fugurtha* had gone so far in the Surrender, which he afterwards drew back from out of Fear, being very much suspected by the King; of whom Himself was likewise as jealous; resolves to go on with his first Intentions, and seek for an Opportunity to destroy him; Beating his Brains both Night and Day for the fittest Means to bring it about. And after revolving and trying every thing, he draws into the Plot *Nabdalsa* a Nobleman, who was very Rich and extremely Popular; and who often us'd to Command a Body separate from the rest of the King's Army, and to manage all the Affairs of the War, which *Fugurtha*, either through being tir'd, or engag'd by greater, cou'd not dispatch: By which he gain'd, together with the Profit on't, a very considerable Stock of Reputation. The Two Conspirators having form'd their Design, agreed upon a Time for

for the Execution of it ; leaving some Particulars to the Prudence of each other when they came upon the Spot , to act in 'em as the Occasion shou'd require. Then *Nabdalsa* return'd to his Detachment, that lay in the Neighbourhood of the *Roman* Quarters, to prevent their Ravaging the Country at Discretion. But having afterwards reflected on the Thing , and the Hazards affrighting him , he fail'd the Appointment ; so that the Conspiracy cou'd not be executed. Whereupon *Bomilcar* , who was very eager for going through with what he had begun, and extremely afraid at the same time that *Nabdalsa*'s Fears wou'd prevail upon him to quit the Design, and perhaps betray it ; sends him a Letter by Hands that he cou'd trust ; Wherein he taxes his Cowardice and Default ; Calls down the Gods, by whom he had sworn ; Warns him of turning *Metellus*'s Bounty into his own Destruction, by abusing it ; That *Jugurtha*'s Ruin was near and inevitable ; That the Question was only, Whether he should fall by Their Prudence, or by the *Roman* Arms ? And desires him, in fine, to Consider with himself whether he had rather be rewarded or tortur'd. Now it happen'd when this Letter was brought, That *Nabdalsa* being tir'd with Exercise was o' bed : And after he had run over the Contents , he was presently seiz'd with a Thousand Cares , which kept him waking for some time ; but at length, like Men overladen with Trouble , he fell into a sound Sleep. At the same time he had in his Service a certain *Numidian* that was greatly in Favour with him, and who us'd, as being Trusty, to manage his Affairs, and had been let in to all his Secrets but the last: This Man being inform'd of the Letter , and supposing his Assistance wou'd be call'd for as usual, goes into his Tent, and while he was asleep spying the Letter, which was carelessly left above his Master's Head upon the Pillow,

low, takes and reads it ; and discovering the Treason, posts away with it immediately to the King. *Nabdalsa*, who wak'd in a short time after, missing the Letter, and being inform'd by the Deserters, who were then upon the Guard, of all that had pass'd, sent first to overtake the *Numidian* : But that being to no purpose, He goes to *Jugurtha* ; and to satisfy him, pretends, That he shou'd have been the Discoverer himself, if the Perfidy of his Servant had not prevented him : Beseeching him with Tears by their Ancient Friendship, and by the many faithful Services he had done him, Not to entertain a Suspicion that he wou'd have been Guilty of so Horrid a Villany. The King return'd him a gracious Answer, tho' contrary to the Sentiments which he had in his Mind ; For, having put to Death *Bomilcar* and several Others that he knew had been Concern'd, he had very politickly stifled his Resentment, for fear that the Carrying his Revenge any further, might occasion a Disturbance among the People. But from that moment *Jugurtha* never enjoy'd any Quiet by Night or Day ; Nor wou'd trust Times, Places, or Persons ; but was equally jealous of Friends and Enemies ; Wou'd be almost always looking about him ; Start at the least Noise that he heard ; Skulk a-nights sometimes in one Hole, and sometimes in another, unfit for a Prince ; Wake on a sudden out of his Slumbers, and snatch up his Arms with a mighty Bustle : In a Word, He was so hurry'd with Fears, that he acted like a Man out of his Wits.

Metellus being inform'd by Deserters of the Discovery of the Plot, and of the Fate of *Bomilcar*, be-stirs himself to have all Things in Readiness for Carrying on the War, as but just begun. And for *Marius*, who continually press'd him for Leave to make the Journey to *Rome* ; considering the great Animosity between them, and that therefore he cou'd no depend

depend upon his Services, He thought fit to permit him to go. By the Letters about *Metellus* and *Marius*, before mention'd to be sent to *Rome*, the Populace had receiv'd such an Account concerning each of 'em as they wish'd to hear. The Consul's Nobility, which us'd to be an Honour to him, serv'd now but to make him disagreeable: As the very Meanness of the Other's Extraction recommended him the more to their Favour: And the Factions in the *Cafe* were govern'd more by a Party-Heat, than by any Regard to the good or evil Qualities of either. Moreover, the Turbulent Magistrates of the Rabbble made it their Business to increase their Ferment, Accusing *Metellus* in their publick Harangues of Things deserving no less than Death; and Crying up at the same time the Virtue of *Marius* to the very Skies. In so much, that at last the Flame was so great, That All the Handicraft Fellows in the City, with the verry Ploughmen out of the Country, who had nothing to trust to but their Hands for a Livelihood, left their Work to run after *Marius*, and were more intent upon Setting up him, than providing Bread for Themselves and Families. The Nobles by this being born down, the Consulate after several Meetings was given at length to a new-risen Commoner. And the Popular Tribune, *Manlius Mantinus*, demanding of the People whom They wou'd have to Command in the War against *Jugurtha*? 'Twas carry'd in a full Assembly for *Marius*: Which quite frustrated the Act of the Senate; whereby, but a very little before, the Province of *Numidia* had been assign'd to *Metellus*.

In the mean time *Jugurtha*, who was bereft of his Friends, most of whom had been put to Death, and the rest oblig'd for fear of the like (Some) to go over to the *Romans*, and Others to fly to King *Bocchus*; being very sensible that the War cou'd not

be Carry'd on without Assistants, and yet that it was an Extreme Hazard, after finding his Old Adherents had prov'd such Traytors, to trust to Strangers; grew much perplex'd in his Mind, and knew not what Course to resolve on. No Counsel nor Person pleas'd him: He shifted his Officers and Marches daily. Now He wou'd move towards the Enemy; and anon retire into Desart Corners: Sometimes he wou'd chuse Flight for his Refuge; and by and by resume Hopes of doing Something by the Force of his Arms. He knew not which he cou'd least rely on, whether the Courage, or Fidelity of his People. In a Word, which way soever he look'd, every Thing appear'd Cross and Adverse to him. In the midst of These irresolute Motions, *Metellus* on a sudden comes up with his Army; and *Jugurtha* putting his own in Order, as the Time wou'd permit, the Battel begins. Where the King was present in Person, there was something of Fighting for some time; but as for all the rest of his Army, they were broken and routed on the first Shock; And the *Romans* took a great Number of Ensigns and Arms, with a few Prisoners: The *Numidians* having in most Battels been more beholden to their Heels than Swords. Upon this Defeat, *Jugurtha* despairing more and more of the Success of his Matters, retires with the Deserters and Part of his Horse into the Woods, and from thence to *Thala*, a very large and Opulent Town, where was kept the King's Treasure, and every Thing for the Educating and Diverting his Children. Of which *Metellus* having Intelligence, tho' he knew that between *Thala* and the River adjoining to his Then Camp, it was nothing else but a Vast Desart, and Sandy for fifty Miles together; yet hoping to put an End to the War, if he cou'd but Reduce This Place; He resolves to surmount all Difficulties, and to overcome even Nature her self.

Where-

Wherefore he orders the Beasts of Carriage to be laden (Not with the usual Baggage, but) only with Flower for Ten Days, and with Leather Bottles and other Utensils that were most Convenient for Carrying Water; Adds to these all the Working Cattle he cou'd light on in the Neighbouring Fields, and loads them with Vessels of all sorts, but most of Wood, which he pick'd up from among the Cottages of the poor *Numidians*; Commands the Borderers, who had come in and submitted to him after the Rout, to meet him at a Time and Place that he set 'em, with a very great Quantity of Water; Fills all his own Vessels out of the River beforemention'd; and being provided in this manner, begins his March towards *Thala*. As soon as *Metellus* had reach'd the Place where the *Numidians* were appointed to be, and pitch'd and fortify'd his Camp, as usual; 'Tis said, that the Heavens all on a sudden pour'd down such a Shower of Rain, that by That alone there was Water enough for the whole Army, with a great deal to spare. Moreover, for all other Provisions, They found a Plenty beyond Expectation: For the Country, as it is very common under the Influence of a New Conquest, had brought in even more than was requir'd. The Shower made a Religious Impression on the Minds of the Soldiers, and added to their Courage: For they fancy'd by This, that the Immortal Gods took care of their Persons and Enterprize. And the next Day, unlook'd for by *Jugurtha*, They arriv'd before the Town of *Thala*. The Inhabitants, who thought themselves Secure by their (almost) inaccessible Situation, were amaz'd at so Extraordinary an Attempt; but yet were nevertheless Vigorous in Preparing all Things for a Stout Defence. And Our Men, on the other hand, made as much Haste to attack Them. *Jugurtha*, who now verily believ'd

there was Nothing cou'd prove too hard for *Metellus* ; as One who had Conquer'd by his resolute Industry All sorts of Force, Marches and Seasons , and, in fine , had Vanquish'd Nature her self , which had made other Generals submit ; slips out of the Town by Night with his Children, and a great Part of his Treasure ; Nor wou'd ever afterwards tarry longer than a single Day or Night in a Place ; Feigning Business for his hasting away , but afraid in truth of Treasonable Practices , which he hop'd by shifting his Abode to prevent. For he knew that Plots are generally hatch'd and brought to Perfection by Time and Opportunity. *Metellus* perceiving that the Townsmen appear'd resolv'd to hold out a Siege, and that the Place was strong both by Art and Nature, surrounds it formally with Trenches and Works ; Sets up his Vines in the fittest Places he cou'd pick out in such a Ground ; and by the Shelter of these, Erects Bulwarks , with Towers upon them to Cover his Men. The Besieg'd, on the contrary, flew about, and bestirr'd Themselves in every Quarter. In a Word, There was Nothing any ways necessary on either side, that was left undone. At length, after a great deal of Toil, frequent Fighting, and forty Days spent from the Time of first Investing by the *Romans* , They became Masters of the Town, but no more ; the Deserters having destroy'd the Pillage : For These, as soon as they found the Walls begin to totter by the Battering of the Rams , and that Affairs were brought to Extremity ; Convey'd all the Gold and Silver, and other Valuables, to the King's Palace ; and after a very full Feasting and Debauch with Wines, fir'd the House , and Consum'd Themselves and All that was in it : Voluntarily inflicting That on Themselves , which they dreaded the Enemy wou'd make 'em suffer.

At the same time that *Thala* was taken there Came Ambassadors to *Metellus* from *Leptis*, to beseech him to send them a Garison and Governor; letting him know that They had among Them one *Hamilcar*, a factious Nobleman, who endeavour'd to make the People revolt, and whom neither the Authority of the Laws, nor the Power of the Magistrate was able to deal with; And that if there was not a quick Remedy, As the City it self wou'd be surely ruin'd, so the *Romans* wou'd lose a faithful Ally; For the *Leptians* at the very beginning of the War had sent first to the Consul *Bestia*, and afterwards to *Rome* to desire Amity; Which being granted They all along remain'd a firm and valuable Confederate: Zealously performing All that *Bestia*, *Albinus*, or *Metellus* requir'd of them. In Consideration of which the General readily Condescended to their Request, and sent them four *Ligurian* Cohorts under the Command of *C. Annus* as Governor. This Place was built by the *Sidonians*, who are said to have quitted their Own Countrey, because of the Civil Dissentions that were in it, and to Come by Sea into These Parts. 'Tis Seated between two Quick Sands, that go by the Name of *Syrtes* from * σύρτες. For near the † extreme Limits of *Africa* there are Two Gulphs that run into the Countrey, Unequal in Bigness, but alike in Nature: The Parts of which adjoyning to the Land remain always of a mighty Depth, but the more remote are sometimes deep, and again Shallow, as the Wind lies. For when the Sea runs high, and the Wind blows with a strong Gust, the Billows roll to them great Quantities of Sand, Ouze, and Massy Stones; And the Face of the

* To Draw.

† According to the old Geography.

Bottom is Continually alter'd according to the different Working of the Tempests. The Language of the City is now chang'd by their Intermarriages with the *Numidians*. But their Laws and Manners are mostly *Sidonian*; which the great Distance They were at from Court enabled 'em the more easily to retain; For between Them and any inhabited part of *Numidia* there are vast Desarts.

And now since the Affairs of *Leptis* have drawn me into This Countrey, I think it not amiss to relate a most Surprizing and Memorable Thing (of which the Place puts Me in Mind) That was done by two Brothers of *Carthage*. During the Time that the *Carthaginians* were Masters of the biggest Part of *Africa*, the *Cyrenians* were likewise very Opulent and made a great Figure in the World. There lay between Them a Tract of Ground Cover'd with Sand; and a perfect Flat; Without any Mountain or River in it to ascertain the Limits of their several Territories; The Want of which became an Occasion of a bloody and long War betwixt 'em: Wherein after the Fleets and Armies on either side had been often shatter'd, and Each thereby considerably weaken'd, Fearing that some Third Power might start up and make a Prey both of Vanquish'd and Victors, alike Weary, They Came to an Agreement That Each Party shou'd at such a Certain Time send out Men from their respective Countreys, and that whereever They happen'd to meet, That Place shou'd be Ever after the Common Bound of their several Empires. The Persons sent by the *Carthaginians* were Two Brothers, by Name *Philæni*, who made great speed in their Journey. The *Cyrenians* were not so expeditious, but whether it was the Effect of Laziness or some retarding Accident is unknown; This is Certain, That in these Parts a Tempest is of as ill a Consequence to any One as it is at Sea. For when the Winds

Winds in a level Wildernes that's bare of all manner of Herbage have swept up and mounted the Sands, they drive along with a mighty Force, and fill the Mouth and Eyes of a Traveller, So that he dares not look out, Nor is able to move forward in his Journey. The *Cyrenians* upon meeting the Others finding Themselves to have lost Ground, and fearing Punishment upon their return for not discharging their Trust better, fell to accusing the *Carthaginians* for setting out before the Time, and made a great Noise and Disturbance, Resolving, whatsoever it Cost them, not to go away out-done. The Two Brothers agreed to stand to any Terms of Decision that were fair. Upon which the * *Græcians* tended 'em These, That either the Brothers shou'd suffer Themselves to be bury'd alive in the Place they Claim'd for the Bound of their Countrey, Or else That They Themselves shou'd have liberty to go as far onwards as They pleas'd, Submitting afterwards to the same Fate. The *Philæni* closing with the Proposal made a generous Sacrifice of their Lives to the Common-Wealth and were bury'd accordingly. The People of *Carthage* erected Monuments upon the Spot to the Two Brothers; And other Honours were instituted at Home to eternize the Remembrance of Their Action. I return now to the Web of my History.

Jugurtha after the Loss of *Thala* thinking nothing too strong for *Metellus* takes his Way with a handful of Followers through Vast Desarts, and Comes to the *Gætuli*, a Savage and Barbarous Sort of People and ignorant Then of the *Roman Name*. Of These He gets a Multitude together, and trains 'em by de-

* The Author took notice before that Cyrene was a Colony from one of the Thera's, And they were Islands that lay in Greece.

grees to keep their Ranks, to follow their Ensigns, to obey Commands, and perform other Military Exercises. Moreover by making large Presents and larger Promises He gains Those who had the Ear of *Bocchus*, by whose Address and Interest with their King He draws him to Engage in a War against the *Romans*; To which *Bocchus* was the more dispos'd, because he had sent Ambassadors to *Rome* upon opening of the War to propose a League; But the Overture, tho' the most advantageous to the Enterprize They were then Entring upon, was oppos'd and baffl'd by a few Noblemen that were blinded by Avarice, and who made a Practice of Selling Honour, Profit and Every Thing. We ought likewise to take notice that † *Bocchus* had marry'd a Daughter of *Jugurtha's*. However among the *Moors* and *Numidians* That Relation is Valu'd but little: For They All Marry several Wives, Some Ten, and Others More, according to their Abilities to maintain 'em; And Princes have Consequently a greater Number; So that being distracted with Variety, They regard None for a Wife as They shou'd, but look on Every One of 'em with Indifference. At a Place approv'd of by both Sides the several Armies rendezvouz'd; Where after exchanging Faith, *Jugurtha* the more to inflame *Bocchus* took occasion to make an Harangue to him; Representing that the *Romans* were a People most Oppressive, insatiably Covetous, and Common Enemies to Mankind: That They had the same Cause in Reserve for a War with *Bocchus*, as with Him and Others, The Lust of a Universal Dominion: That They hated All Monarchs whatsoever: And that as Himself was attack'd at present, and the

† By the Latin it shou'd seem that *Jugurtha* had marry'd *Bocchus's Daughter*, but the Sense carries me to the other rendring.

Carthaginians and King *Perse* were a little before the Objects of Their Fury, So for the future, as Any One shou'd happen to be found Rich or Considerable, the *Romans* wou'd fall upon him as Their Enemy. After he had speech'd it to this purpose, They march'd away for the Town of *Cirta*; For There *Metellus* had laid up his Baggage, and put the Prisoners and Booty he had taken: Upon which account *Fugurtha* propos'd to enrich himself by Carrying the Place, Or, if the *Romans* Came to relieve it, to gain an Occasion, at least, of fighting 'em; For He very politickly made hast to engage *Bocchus* too far for a Retreat, Fearing that if the Matter were delay'd, He might fall back into Measures of Peace. The Consul after being inform'd of the League between the two Kings wou'd not rashly, or in all Places proffer Battel, as he us'd to do to a shatter'd Adversary, as *Fugurtha* was; but pitching his Camp near *Cirta*, and entrenching Himself, attended their Coming; Judging it most advisable for him, seeing the *Moors* were a new Enemy, to make Tryal first of Their Courage, and for that purpose to fight Them on advantage. In the mean time He receiv'd Advice by Letters from *Rome* that the Province of *Numidia* was given to *Marius*; having heard before that He was made Consul. This News disturb'd and transported him beyond all manner of Bounds: In so much that He cou'd not refrain from Tears, nor in any measure moderate his Tongue: A Man extraordinary in other respects, but unable to bear a Mortification; Which some People imputed to his Pride: Others to a Consciousness of his own Worth, which rendred him less Capable of brooking Unworthy Usage: And Many thought his Regret was, That the War shou'd be wrested out of his hands when he had brought it so near a Period: For My own part I am well satify'd, He was more Concern'd

at

at the advancement of *Marius* than for any Affront put on Himself ; And that it wou'd not have gone so near him to have had his Province taken from him, if They had but bestow'd it on any other besides *Marius*.

Metellus being under this Uneasiness, and judging it Folly to hazard Himself to procure Triumphs for Another only, sends away Ambassadors to *Bocchus* To Admonish him Not to become an Enemy to the People of *Rome* without Provocation ; And to let him know He had Yet a Liberty of striking up an Alliance with Them, which ought to be Chosen before War : That what Reason soever He had for relying upon his own Strength, It Cou'd not be adviseable for him to part with a Certainty for an Uncertainty : That War was easily entred into, but as hard to be got out of again : That the Commencement and Conclusion of it were seldom at the Will of the same Persons : That any Coward might begin a War, but the Victor's Discretion alone wou'd End it : And lastly, That He wou'd do well to Consult the Interest of Himself and Kingdom, and Not imbark his own Prosperity in the Bottom with *Fugurtha*'s ruin'd Fortunes. To which *Bocchus* reply'd mildly , That He was not at all backward to Peace, but Cou'd not but pity the Circumstances of *Fugurtha* : And that Every Thing wou'd be soon agreed, if the Latter might but be Comprehended in it. The General by way of Answer to his Overtures sends Commissioners to him again ; Approving Some and refusing Others. And thus by sending backwards and forwards on Each Side Time was spun out, and the War protracted as *Metellus* wou'd have it.

Marius, as above, being Chosen Consul with so much Zeal and Concurrence of the Commons, Who had also Voted him the Province of *Numidia*, as he had always been an Enemy to the Nobles, became

Now

Now a fiercer than ever : Sometimes Affronting particular Persons, and at other times the whole Body : Boasting He had wrested the Consulate from 'em as Spoils from the Hands of a baffled Adversary : And speaking several other Things swelling of Himself, and Exposing Them. In the mean time he made it his Business to provide every Thing necessary for the War ; demanded a Reinforcement of the Legions ; sent about to the Allies for Auxiliaries ; pickt up All the Fellows in *Italy* that he knew to be stout, and a few that pass'd for it ; and prevail'd with Many of the brave Veterans discharg'd the Service to go with him likewise. Nor durst the Senate refuse him any thing, tho' They hated him at the same time ; but readily decreed him a Reinforcement, Thinking that when he once Came to press the Populace, They wou'd grow disgusted, and so he wou'd either be disappointed of the Succours he needed, or lose their Favour ; But These Hopes were without Success, So strange an Eagerness to go with *Marius* had possess'd the Minds of the greatest part of 'em ; Every One promis'd Himself to return a Victor, and laden with Booty : And I know not what other Things ran in their Heads and spurr'd Them on ; To which an Harangue made by *Marius* but a little before had greatly Contributed. For after All his Demands were decreed him, and He came thereupon to make his Levies, To Encourage Men to Come in the faster, as also to Mortify the Nobility, as usual, He Call'd together an Assembly of the People, and spoke to Them to this purpose.

‘ I know, My Countreymen, There are very Few
‘ that Continue to practise the same Virtues after
‘ Preferment, which They Exercis'd to obtain it ;
‘ Before, They'll be moderate, humble and industri-
‘ ous ; but afterwards nothing but Sloth, and Pride :
‘ But

‘ But This to Me is very preposterous ; For as the
‘ Good of the Common-Wealth is of more Im-
‘ portance than a Consul or Prætorship, The Care
‘ shou’d be greater how to administer the former well,
‘ than to acquire the latter. For My own part, I
‘ am very sensible how Weighty a Business I have
‘ upon My Hands (through Your favourable Choice
‘ of Me) to Manage. To provide All the Necessa-
‘ ries of a War, yet spare the Treasury at the same
‘ time : To Compel Those into the Service whom
‘ ’Tis a ticklish Point to offend : To see to Every
‘ Thing both at Home and Abroad, and all this a-
‘ mong a Confederacy of Envious, Contradicting,
‘ and Factious Spirits is a harder Task than Most are
‘ aware of. Besides, Others who fail in their Poſts
‘ have a long Descent from a Noble Stock, Illustrious
‘ Actions of Fore-Fathers, Wealth and Interest of
‘ Kindred and Friends, and a Multitude of Clients
‘ and Followers to support ’em ; But My Dependance
‘ is alone on My ſelf, And My own Resolution and
‘ Innocence must prote&t Me, Having Nothing else
‘ to stand me in ſtead. Moreover I know, My Vali-
‘ ant Countreymen, that the Eyes of Every One are
‘ upon Me, and that All honest and true *Romans* wish
‘ well to Me, as One that has acted before-hand for
‘ the Good of the Public : But that the Nobility
‘ on the other hand lie in Wait for Occasions to ruin
‘ Me. This will excite and double my Diligence to
‘ ſee both that You be not deceiv’d, and that They
‘ on the Contrary be disappointed. From My
‘ Childhood to this Moment of Time I have been
‘ inur’d to Hardships and Perils. If before I had a-
‘ ny Recompence, I nevertheless ſerv’d You *Gratis*,
‘ I Can never think of Ceasing to do it after receiv-
‘ ing ſuch Favours from You. ’Tis a very difficult
‘ Thing for ſuch to behave Themselves in Power as
‘ They ought, who wore only a Mask of Probity
‘ while

‘while They were making their Way to it, But to
‘Me, who have always exercis’d Virtue, ’tis become
‘Natural to do well. You have thought fit to Com-
‘mand Me, Gentlemen, to Carry on the War a-
‘gainst *Jugurtha*, and This the Nobility resent high-
‘ly. Now, Pray Consider well with Your Selves whe-
‘ther You had best alter Your Resolve, and send up-
‘on such Occasions as These One out of that Croud
‘of Nobles, a Man, forsooth ! of an Ancient Pedi-
‘gree, and Compass’d with Numerous Statues of his
‘Family, but who never once saw a Campaign ;
‘By All Means, That You may have One, who quite
‘ignorant of the Busines of his Post shall tremble
‘in danger, be All Confusion, and be forc’d to run
‘to a Commoner for Instruction. From whence it
‘has often happen’d in Fact That He whom You
‘have order’d to Command has got Another to Com-
‘mand Himself. I have known Those, Most Wor-
‘thy *Romans* ! who after having been Chosen Con-
‘suls have begun to study the Actions of their An-
‘cestors and the Rules of War deliver’d by the
‘Greeks ; Preposterous Method ! For tho’ Election
‘precedes Their actual Exercise of the Office, Yet
‘before the former is made, They ought to be train’d
‘to a Skill and Fitness for it. Compare Me Now,
‘an advanc’d Commoner with the haughty Ignor-
‘ance of These Men. What They have but heard
‘or read of, I have acted, or shar’d in the perform-
‘ing ; What They have lamely gather’d from Books,
‘I have gain’d by long Practice in the Field ; And
‘judge whether a little Theory with a Talent of
‘talking about War ought to be nam’d with Deeds
‘and Experience. They Contemn My Rise for its
‘Newness, and I Their degenerate Cowardice.
‘They upbraid Me with My low Fortune, and I
‘Them with their foul Enormities. For My own
part, Tho’ I am satisfy’d the same Nature is Com-

mon to All, Yet I Can't but think that the Brave
Man is of All others the best Gentleman. And
if the Fathers of *Bestia* or *Albinus* Cou'd now be
ask'd whether They wou'd rather have such as Me
or Them for their Children, What D'ye think the
Answer wou'd be, but that They desir'd the most
Valiant? If They have reason to despise Me, let
'em do the same by their own Ancestors, who
deriv'd Their first and only Nobility from Heroick
Gallantry, as I Mine. They Envy Me the Ho-
nours I have risen to, Let 'em Envy Me likewise
My Industry and Virtue, Let 'em Envy the Perils
and Hardships I have gone through, for it was by
Those Steps that I ascended. But These Men Cor-
rupted with Pride, live as if They slighted Your
Honours, And Yet demand them with such Assu-
rance as if They had acted with utmost Probity.
Mistaken Men! To think to Unite the two most
distant Things in the World, The Pleasures of
Sloth, and The Recompences of Virtue. When
They Speech it to You, or in the Senate, They
run out into Extolling their Ancestors, and make a
Pompous Enumeration of the great Actions per-
form'd by Them: From whence They think a
Merit and Fame accrues to Themselves: But 'tis
quite otherwise. For the more illustrious were
Their Virtues, the more detestable are the Vices of
These. The Truth of the Matter is shortly This:
The Glory acquir'd by Fore-Fathers diffuses a Light
about their Posterity that will not suffer their Evil
Deeds any more than their Good to pass unnoticed.
Of This Light, My beloved Countreymen! I do
not pretend to have any Share. But then I have
That which is more Glorious, I have Acts of My
Own to insist upon. Now Mark the Injustice of
These People: Who will not allow Me to reap the
same Fruit from My own Performances, which
They

‘They Challenge from Those of Others: And why,
‘but because I have no Statues, and My Nobility is,
‘forsooth ! but of Yesterday : To Acquire which
‘One’s self, must be nobler, than to marr it after ’tis
‘brought to ’em from their Ancestors. I know very
‘well That if These Men Come to Reply to All
‘This, They will Entertain You with flourishing
‘Speeches and a Talent of Eloquence beyond Mine.
‘But since for the Favours that You have heap’d on
‘Me, They Asperse us both upon all Occasions, I
‘Cou’d not refrain from a Vindication, for fear My
‘Modesty shou’d be misconstru’d as a Consciousness
‘of some Guilt in My Self. For let Their Harangues
‘be what They will, I am satisfy’d that They Can-
‘not hurt Me. For if they are true, They must
‘speak well of Me, and if false , My Life will re-
‘fute ’em. But since They reflect upon Your Prudence
‘in bestowing the highest Honour on Me, and trust-
‘ing such great Affairs to My Management, I wou’d
‘have You Consider again, My Friends ! whether
‘You had best alter Your Choice. I Confess I am
‘not a Man of Statues, Nor Can make a Blaze with
‘Triumphs or Consulates of My Fore-Fathers to ob-
‘tain Credit with You. But, if there be Need , I
‘have Spears, and Ensigns, * Trappings, and other
‘Guerdons of War, Besides, which I Can shew You
‘Scars, Not behind but in this Breast. These are
‘My Statues, and This is My Nobility, Not deriv’d
‘from Ancestors, like Their’s, but purchas’d by My
‘self with a Thousand Perils. My Words, They
‘tell You, are not polite! I don’t Value That of a
‘rush. Virtue makes its Way of It self: But the
‘Colours of Speech are necessary for Them, To dis-

* Ornaments for a Horse To reward a Trooper for dismounting , &c.
his Adversary.

‘ guise the better Their shameful Practices. Again,
‘ I am ignorant of the *Greek Learning* ! Why, I ne-
‘ ver was fond of Studying That, which Cou’d not
‘ preserve the Owners from Slavery. But then I am
‘ skill’d in another Discipline of the Last Use to the
‘ Common-Wealth : To fight an Enemy, hold out a
‘ Place, Fear nothing in the World but Infamy, suffer
‘ Heat and Cold indifferently, lie upon the Ground,
‘ And Endure Fatigue, with Pinching Hunger at
‘ the same time ; My Own Example in These Things
‘ will be the Commands I shall give out to Excite
‘ My Soldiers to do their Duty: (For I shall not
‘ put Hardships upon Them, and indulge My self at
‘ the same time, Nor make My own Glory the Pur-
‘ chase of Their sole Labour and Performances.)
‘ This is a Conduct good for the Public, This is a
‘ Government fit for Men ; Whereas to wallow in
‘ Ease One’s self, but impose severe Things on the
‘ Army is to Act the Tyrant and not the General.
‘ By such a generous Course as This Our Ancestors
‘ gain’d Immortal Honour both to Themselves and
‘ the Republic. Upon which Our present Nobles
‘ relying, tho’ They partake nothing of their Bra-
‘ very, will not allow Me for their Rival, but bold-
‘ ly claim of You All Honours as due to their Per-
‘ sons, without Merit. But herein Our haughty
‘ Blades are certainly under a great Error. Their
‘ Fathers bequeath’d ‘em All things that wou’d pass,
‘ Riches, Images, and a fair Fame : But They left ‘em
‘ not Their Virtue, for They Cou’d not. For That’s a
‘ Thing that is not Assignable from One to Another
‘ by way of Gift. They say That I am a slovenly
‘ Fellow, and One of no Manner of Breeding ; Be-
‘ cause, forsooth ! I have not the Art of furnishing
‘ out a Collation nicely, keep no Buffoons for Diver-
‘ sion, nor give more for a Cook than a Bailiff. This
‘ I frankly Confess is true. For I have been bred up

the Notion by My Father and other Venerable Persons, That Daintiness ought to be left to Women, But that Labour and Hardiness become Men : And that All truly Heroic Spirits shou'd Value Glory Above Wealth, and be prouder of Arms than the finest Furniture. Well, Let Them Enjoy their Fill of the Things that are so delightful and dear to them : Let 'em drink and whore as They please, As They spent their Youth, let 'em pass their Age in Banquets and Revels, devoted to their Bellies and the most dishonourable Part of their Bodies : Let 'em leave Sweat and Dust and Fatigue to Me who love it above My Food. But This will not Content them neither. For tho , unworthy Brutes as They are ! They have unmann'd Themselves by Debauchery, They are nevertheless eager to engross the Rewards that are Owing only to Virtue. And (which is the highest Piece of Injustice) Luxury and Sloth, the most scandalous Evils, must be no Bar to the Men who are guilty of 'em, tho' the innocent Common-Wealth is like to be undone by such Vices. Having Now answer'd the Calumnies of the Nobles as far as My own Modesty wou'd permit, tho' not as Their Actions deserve, I'll speak a little to the State of the Public. First Then, I wou'd have You, My Friends ! hope well of the War in *Numidia*. For You have remov'd All the Things that have hitherto protected *Jugurtha*, As Avarice, Want of Conduct, and Imperiousness. Then, The Army You have There is very well acquainted with the Countrey, and Stout, tho' it has not been so successful. For great Numbers of it have perish'd through the Rashness or Covetousness of their Commanders. Arise Then Such of You, Gentlemen, as are of an Age to bear Arms ; Take the Public into Your hands, and exert Your Selves with Me in its Cause. Nor let the

past Fate of Your Fellows, nor the Pride of former Generals discourage You. I will be with You A Counsellor and Companion in All Your Encampments, Marches, and Battels : In Every Thing I shall ask of You I will bear a Share with You My Self. And doubt not but by the help of the Gods All Matters will become Easy ; Victory, Booty, and Renown are ripe for us : But grant for once that the Case were doubtful, Or We had but glimmering hopes of Success, twou'd be Yet the Duty of true Patriots to do their Utmost for the Commonwealth. No Body Ever yet gain'd an immortal Glory by sitting still : Nor is Any truly Generous Parent so much for his Children's living for ever, as their passing their Lives with Gallantry and Honour. I wou'd say more, My illustrious Countreymen ! if Words Cou'd inspire Cowards with Valour ; but To Brave Men I persuade My self I have said more than Enough already.

Marius having made This Harangue, and finding the People animated to his Wish, ships his Provisions, Money, and Arms, with other Necessaries with all speed. And sends his Legate *A. Manlius* away with them. In the mean time He raises Soldiers, Not out of the several Classes, nor according to the ancient Manner of Levies, but taking All who were willing to go, tho' They paid neither Scot nor Lot. Some thought He accepted These for want of Men of better Account, and others laid it upon his Ambition, for that he was cry'd up and advanc'd by That sort of People, and that indigent Fellows are the fittest Instruments for One, who Aims at Power, to work with, because They have Nothing of their Own to Care for, and look upon All That as just that will bring something into their Pockets. *Marius*, who had by this Method listed somewhat a larger Number

ber than the Senate decreed him, parts for *Africa*, and arrives in a few Days at *Utica*. Where the Army was deliver'd over to him by *P. Rutilius* the Legate; For *Metellus* Avoided the sight of *Marius*, that he might not be an Eye-Witness to That which he Cou'd not so much as endure to hear of. The Consul having by These Recruits fill'd up the Legions and Auxiliary Cohorts Marches into the fertilest of the Countrey, and abounding Every where with Booty, gives up All to the Pillaging of the Soldiers: Then, He attacks the Castles and Towns that were less fortify'd, or had slender Garisons: And pretty frequently takes Occasion to Engage the Enemy here and there, Yet mostly by Way of slight Skirmishes. During which the new-rais'd Men were order'd only to look on: Which They did by degrees without Fear: Taking Notice how the Routed were kill'd or taken; That the most Valiant Came off the safest: And that 'twas the Vigorous Use of Arms that preserv'd Liberty, Countrey, and Parents, with Every other Thing that was valuable, and moreover acquir'd 'em Wealth and Glory: By which means in a short time they grew to be All One with the Veteranes, And the Bravery of Both became Equal. As soon as the Kings receiv'd Advice of *Marius*'s Arrival, they retir'd severally into Fastnesses; 'Twas *Fugurtha*'s Stratagem, who flatter'd Himself that the *Romans* wou'd thereupon disperse, and so he might fall on 'em with more advantage: Or that, after their Fears were over, They wou'd grow, like most Other People, secure and negligent, and the Easier to be dealt with. *Metellus* in the Interim arriving at *Rome*, was receiv'd, Contrary to his Expectation, with the highest Marks of Kindness and Joy: And Caress'd not only by the Nobles but Populace, Now Their Envy and Heat was over. But *Marius*, indefatigably Active, was Careful of Every Step he

made, and equally Vigilant at the same time to observe All the Motions of the Enemy ; Continually Pond'ring what Things wou'd be advantageous, or the Contrary to Either ; Getting Intelligence by Spies of Their Marches ; And Preventing All their Ambushes and Designs ; In a Word, He allow'd no Remissness in his own Army, Nor gave any rest to That of the Kings. Wherefore He often met with the *Gætuli* and *Jugurtha* Himself Carrying off Booties taken from our Allies, and attack'd and routed 'em ; Particularly near the Town of *Cirta* he forc'd the *Numidian* to run away and leave All his Arms behind him. But these being only Gallant Exploits, and perceiving They wou'd not finish the War, He resolv'd to Besiege All the Places whose strong Garrisons or difficult Scituation Cou'd Advantage his Adversary or Annoy Himself : Whereby he shou'd strip him of All his Strengths, or oblige him to Come to a fair Engagement. For as to *Bocchus*, he had sent to the Consul several times to let him know that he was ready to make an Alliance with the *Romans*, and that They had nothing at all to fear from Him. But whether This was only Pretence, that he might give a greater Blow by surprizing Us, Or whether it proceeded from the Fickleness of his Temper accustom'd to make frequent Exchanges of War and Peace, Cou'd be never learnt. *Marius* pursuant to the Measures he had pitch'd on Marches to the fortify'd Towns and Castles : Some of which he reduc'd by Force, and Others he gain'd by Threats, or Promises. Beginning at first with such Places as were not altogether so strong, and Expecting *Jugurtha* wou'd Come to their Relief. But after he understood that he was gone a very great distance off, and Intent There upon other Matters, he laid hold on the Opportunity to go upon greater and harder Enterprizes.

Amidst

Amidst the Desarts there stood a Large and Powerful City, call'd *Capſa*, said to be founded by the *Libyan Hercules*; And whose Inhabitants having enjoy'd a Mild Government, with many Immunities, under the Administration of *Jugurtha*, were look'd upon entirely in his Interest; And were fortify'd against all Enemies; as by good Walls, Magazines, and Numbers, so much more by the Difficulties of Acces to 'em. For, except some Towns in their near Neighbourhood, the Country round was a vast Wild, unfrequented, without Water, and very much infested with Serpents, whose Fierceness, like that of other Beasts, was extremely augmented by want of Food; and their Nature besides being mischievous in it self, enrag'd by Nothing so much as Thirst. *Marius* conceiv'd an ardent Desire to make himself Master of this Place, partly for that it was of Importance, and partly because the Attempt was difficult. Beside, that *Metellus*, a little before, to his lasting Honour, had carry'd *Thala*, a Town not unlike this in respect of its Scituation and Strength: Only at *Thala* there were some Springs not far off from the Walls; Whereas (excepting from one Well, and that lying within the Town,) the People of *Capſa*, and all about it, were supply'd only by Rain-Water. A Deficiency, which was the more tolerable to these and all the other *Africans*, who liv'd wild and at a Distance from the Sea; because the Diet they fed upon for the most part was Milk and Venison, without regarding the Use of Salt or other Incentives to whet the Appetite. For their Food was not for Lust or Luxury, but only to repress Hunger and Thirst. The Consul having consider'd every Thing relating to his Project, and relying on the Gods, (For he cou'd not certainly by his own Wisdom provide against such manifold Difficulties; Corn also being like to be scarce with him,

In

In regard the *Numidians* don't turn so much of their Soil to Tillage as Pastures: And whatever of any sort was on the Ground, they had carry'd off by the King's Directions into their Strong Holds. Besides, by the very Season of the Year, it being the latter part of the Summer, the Fields were all parch'd up, and without any thing of new Herbage:) makes a prudent and tolerable Provision, according to the Plenty he then had: Gives Orders to the Auxiliary Horse to drive before them all the Cattle he had made Booty of in the late Expeditions: And Commands away his Legate *A. Manlius*, with some Light Cohorts to the Town of *Laris*; where he had laid up his Provisions, and the Money intended to pay the Army: Giving out, That in a few Days, after having ravag'd the Country round about, He wou'd be there himself. And having hereby Conceal'd his Design, he sets forward directly for the *Tana*. In his March he every day made an equal Distribution of the Cattle, so much to the Foot, and so much to the Horse; and took Care to have a good Number of Bags or Bottles made with the Hides: With the Flesh supplying the Want of Corn, And (without any Body's knowing his End) preparing with the Skins such Vessels as shortly were to stand him in stead. On the Sixth day he arriv'd at the River, having got ready abundance of the Water-Bags; And there pitching a slight Camp, orders the Army to take a Meal, and to hold themselves in a Readiness to move as soon as ever the Sun shou'd Set; Leaving all the Baggage behind, and Carrying with their Beasts only Water. His Time being come, he broke up, and after Marching all Night, Encamp'd again to take Rest. The next Night he proceeded on: And the Third, long before Day-light, he reach'd to a Place full of Hillocks, and not above two Miles from *Capsa*: Where he caus'd his Army to halt,

halt, and lay as close with it as ever he cou'd. As soon as the Day began to appear, and many of the *Numidians*, who never dreamt of an Enemy's Approach, came out of the Town; He immediately Commanded all the Horse, with the Swiftest of the Foot, to fly to the Gates; Following himself with Diligence at their Heels, and suffering none to straggle for Booty. The Townsmen finding the Case they were in, The Suddenness of the Evil, The Danger of their Circumstances, The Terrors they were under, And the Consideration that a good Number of their Fellow-Citizens were without the Walls, and in the Enemies Hands, oblig'd 'em to Surrender. However, the Place was laid in Ashes, the *Numidian* Youth put to the Sword, the rest of the Inhabitants sold for Slaves, and the Plunder divided among the Soldiers. A Proceeding which, contrary to the Course of War, the Consul was not at all induc'd to from either a Cruel or Covetous Disposition. But because the Place was of Consequence to *Fugurtha*, difficult for Us to approach and Besiege, and the Inhabitants fickle, perfidious in their Nature, and known before to be not Capable of being secur'd by either Kindness or Fear. *Marius* having perform'd an Exploit so very great, and with no Loss, as he was Famous enough before, became more reputed by this: In so much that Actions, at the bottom, rash in him, were ascrib'd to Conduct and the Vastness of his Genius. The Soldiers being under a gentle Discipline, and Enrich'd withal, extoll'd him to the Skies; The *Numidians* fear'd him as more than Mortal; and, in fine, both Friends and Enemies thought him to be either a sort of Divinity Himself, or that he acted by the immediate Assistance of the Gods. The Consul meeting with such Success, turns his Attack upon other Towns: Some few of which he takes after a little Resistance made;

and

and finding more deserted by the Inhabitants, as dreading the like Fate with the *Capsenians*, he burns 'em all down to the Ground. In a Word, the whole Countrey about was fill'd with Slaughter and Lamentation. Having thus reduc'd several Places, and mostly without any Bloodshed of his Army; he applies himself to another Enterprize, not so Toilsome as the Taking of *Capſa*, yet in other Respects no les difficult. Not far from the River *Mulucha*, which parted the Kingdoms of *Jugurtha* and *Bocchus*, there stood in the midst of the Neighbouring Plain a Rocky Mountain, of immense Height, with a pretty Considerable Breadth at Top, and an indifferent Castle standing upon it, but without any Avenue thereto, but by one Way that was extremely narrow; The rest being all prodigiously steep, as if wrought and design'd for impregnable. *Marius* Attacks this Place with all his Might, to make himself Master on't, because *Jugurtha*'s Treasure was in it. Wherein he was more behoden for Success to his good Fortune, than his own Management. For the Castle was furnish'd with a strong Garrison, a sufficient Magazine of Arms, Plenty of Corn, and a Fountain of Water: Nor was it assailable by Trenches or Towers, or any other Works you cou'd project. Besides, as the Paſſage to it was narrow, so on each side even of That It was All Precipice. The Vines were set up against it to no purpose, tho' with vast hazard; For as soon as they were pretty near finishing, they were ruin'd by Fire or Stones from above: Moreover the Soldiers had no footing in their Working at the Mountain, because of its Steepness; Nor cou'd they act amongst the Vines without Danger of knocking in the Head: The Boldest among 'em being slain or wounded, and the rest terrify'd more than ever. After a good deal of Time spent, and much Toiling without any Success, *Marius* with great

great Regret was considering whether to abandon the Undertaking, or to tarry and see what his Fortune, which had often befriended him, wou'd now do for him. In which Uncertainty, and fuming in his Mind, having pass'd several Days and Nights, it fell out, That a certain *Ligurian*, a Common Soldier of the Auxiliary Cohorts, went out of the Camp for Water; and going to the other side of the Castle, which was opposite to that where We attack'd, he observ'd several Periwinkles creeping about among the Rocks; Of which having tasted two or three, and Climbing up to procure more, he was got at length before he was aware to almost the Top of the Mountain. Where perceiving All to be still, he was led onward by a Curiosity, that is Natural to Men in such Cafes, to see what he had not seen before. And there happ'ning to grow in the same Place among the Rocks a great Tree, stooping down a little at the bottom, and then rising and shooting to a Height, according to the way of all Vegetables; By the Help, sometimes of the Boughs of That, and sometimes of the Stones that jutted from the Hill, the *Ligurian* clamber'd up so high as to discover the whole Platform of the Castle; And that all the *Numidians* were very busy on the other side, in Defending against the Enemy. After he had taken a View of All that he thought might be of future Service, he returns back by the way he had ascended, tho' not haftily as he got up, but looking about him, and observing every Thing. Which done, away he goes with Speed to *Marius*, and informs him of the Adventure; pressing him to let an Attack be made in That Part he had so luckily travers'd, and offering to lead the Way himself, and to be the Foremost in facing of the Danger. *Marius* dispatch'd some of those who were then in Prefence to Examine into the Feazibleness of the Project: Who when

when they came back, made their Report (according to every Man's Genius) Some, That 'twas Easy; and Others, That 'twas Difficult. The Consul, however, began to be a little elevated upon it: And picking out Five of the most Active of All the Trumpets and Cornets of his Army, with four Centurions, and their Companies to support 'em; He Commands them all to hold themselves ready for the next Day, and to follow the *Ligurian*; who, as soon as the Time appointed was come, and every thing fix'd, slips to the Place. The Centurions, as pre-instructed by their Guidé, Chang'd their Armour and usual Habit; Going with their Heads and Feet bare, to be able to look the better before 'em, and to climb the Mountain so much the easier; and sling-ing at their Backs their Swords and Bucklers: Which latter were made of Leather, like those of the *Numidians*, for Lightness sake, and to prevent their Ringing against the Rocks. The *Ligurian* himself leading the Way, fasten'd Ropes to the Craggy Stones and old Stumps of Wood that were among 'em, for the Soldiers to ease themselves in Clamb'ring. Sometimes he pull'd up by the Hand those who were tim'rous, as unus'd to such Work; And where the Ascent was difficulter than ordinary, he put them one by one before him, without their Arms, which he carry'd after 'em. Every Place where there was a Doubt whether it wou'd bear, he try'd first; And by often Skipping upwards and downwards, then crossing o' one side, and making Room for his Fellows, he embolden'd 'em. At length, after a great deal of Time, and very much fatigu'd, they got to the Castle; which was quite abandon'd in that Quarter, because the Garison, as at other Times, were All engag'd in facing the Enemy. As soon as *Marius* had Information of this Progress made by the *Ligurian*, tho' he had held the

Numidi-

Numidians in hand by continual Action all the Day, yet then exciting his Men afresh, and issuing out of the Covert of his Vines, he ran under Shelter of the † *Testudo*, up to the very Foot of the Mountain: Plying them hard at the same time with his Batteries, Archers and Slingers from afar. The Besieg'd, who had often enough broke down our Vines, and even laid 'em in Ashes, scorning to keep behind their Battlements, leap'd over, and wou'd stay on the Rock whole Days and Nights in Bravado; And elated with Success, defy'd the *Romans*; threatned to make them *Jugurtha's* Slaves; upbraided *Marius* with being a Coward; and behav'd themselves with the last Insolence. In the mean time, both Assailants and Defendants being All very warmly engag'd; Those to acquire Empire and Honour, and These for Necessary Self-Defence; The Trumpets and Cornets sounded on a sudden with a mighty Clangor behind their Backs. Upon which, first the Women and Children that were there to behold the Battel, fled; Then they who were next the Walls; And in fine, All both Arm'd and Unarm'd. Which as soon as ever the *Romans* observ'd, they press'd onward, wounded, kill'd, march'd over the Bodies of the Slain; and, breathing after Glory, mounted the Rock; None stopping at all for Plunder. By this Accident was a rash Enterprize set to rights, and *Marius* gain'd Reputation from a Fault.

During the Heat of this Transaction, *L. Sylla* the Quæstor arriv'd in the Camp with a very Considerable Body of Horse; having been left behind at *Rome*, to raise them in *Italy* and among the Allies.

† Which was made by Sheilds closely ferried and lock'd together, beneath which as under a Shell the Soldiers made Approaches to the Walls of Towns.

And here, because the Thread of my History has introduc'd this Great Man, I think 'twill be no improper Entertainment to say something to his Character and Manners ; especially since I am not like to have any other Occasion to do it ; And as to *L. Sisenna*, who of all Others has given the fullest Account of his Affairs, he seems not to have spoken of him with so much Freedom as he shou'd have done. *L. Sylla* was then of a Patrician Family, but gone to Decay through the Slothfulness of his Ancestors. He was throughly vers'd in the *Greek* Learning, as well as That of his own Country : Of a vast Courage ; Addicted to Pleasure ; and yet more Ambitious of Glory : In vacant Hours devoted to Luxury, but he never pursu'd it to the Hindring of Busines : However, in the Choice he made of a Wife, he Consulted his Reputation but ill ; He was Eloquent ; Subtile ; Easily your Friend : Of a most incredible Reach of Wit, in putting a Face and Disguize on Matters : Liberal of every Thing, especially his Money ; And before his Success in the Civil War, the Happiest certainly of All Men living ; his Virtue keeping Company with his Fortune : In so much that Many made it a Doubt, whether he was more Gallant, or Fortunate. But as to his Management after that, I am at a loss whether one shou'd speak of it with greater Shame, or with greater Grief. *L. Sylla*, as above, being got into *Africa*, and becoming a little Conversant in the Camp, from a Man ignorant of War, as at first, quickly grew one of the Expertest Soldiers in the Army. Moreover, he was Kind and Affable to the Men ; Very Bountiful to any upon asking, and to divers even of his own Accord ; Backward to receive Benefits himself, but Forwarder to repay 'em than if they had been Debts ; Desiring no Returns from any Body, but willing that All shou'd be beholden to him ; Then, he had a Way

a Way of Joking merrily as well as talking seriously with the Meanest. He wou'd every where be present with the Soldiers in all their Works, Marches, and Watchings: Never speaking ill of the Consul, or any other Person of Worth, according to the way of Deprav'd Ambition. And as he wou'd never suffer any to go beyond him in either Counsel or Action, so for the greatest part he outdid them. By which Conduct, he soon wrought himself into the Affections of *Marius* and the Army.

Jugurtha, after the Loss of *Capsa* and other strong and important Places, together with a great Sum of Money, dispatches away Messengers to *Bocchus*, to hasten his March into *Numidia*: Representing, That Now was the Time for Fighting. But receiving Advice that he fram'd Delays, and was staggering in his Mind between the Reasons that respectively made for War and Peace; He had Recourse to his former way of Bribing such as had the King's Ear; and promis'd a Third Part of the Kingdom to the *Moor* himself, upon Expelling the *Romans*, or Composing the War upon such Terms, that all his Dominions might be left entire to him. *Bocchus* being Captivated by this Offer, came with a great Multitude to his Succour; And both Armies being thus join'd, as *Marius* was going into Winter Quarters, they took the Occasion to fall upon him, tho' hardly the Tenth of the Day remain'd: Depending much on the Darkness of the Night, to favour their Retreat, if they happen'd to be beaten; Or, if they were Conquerors, that it cou'd not hinder them from pushing their Victory, since they knew the Ground; But persuading themselves that in either Case it must prove a great Disadvantage to the *Romans*. In the very Instant, almost, that the Consul had News of the Enemy's Approach, they were upon him; And before he cou'd put his Army in Order;

der, take Care for Securing the Baggage, or, in fine, give any Signal or Commands, the *Moorish* and *Getulian* Cavalry came on; Not in a Body drawn up, or according to a Regular Way of Fighting, but in scatter'd Parties, as mere Chance had huddled them together; and Charg'd our Men: Who, tho surpriz'd with the Suddenness of the Onset, yet not forgetting their wonted Bravery, grasp'd their Arms to Attack their Adversaries; And (Some) to Defend their Fellows till ready. The Troopers also hasten'd to mount, to put a stop to the Enemies Career; whose Engaging was liker a Rencounter of Freebooters, than a Battel of Soldiers: No Ranks or Ensigns were observ'd; but Horse and Foot being mingled together, cut in pieces or bore down their Opposers: And Many, while they were gallantly fighting their Antagonists before 'em, were assaulted behind. Neither Valour nor Steel were a Protection; For the Forces of the Kings being Superior in Number, surrounded and fill'd all Corners. At length our Soldiers, both Old and New ones, who were blended with the former, and by that means had acquir'd some Skill with 'em in War; threw themselves into Oval Bodies, as Chance or the Ground gave Opportunity, and so by facing every Way, sustain'd more effectually the Shock of the Enemy. *Marius* in all this Difficulty and Distress was no more disorder'd than at other Times; but flew about with his own Troop, which was made up of the stoutest Fellows, rather than such whose Desert was Favour with him; Reliev'd Those who were hard press'd; Charg'd into the Thickest of the Enemy; and us'd his Hands like a Common Soldier, seeing All Commands as a General were to no purpose in such a Confusion. By this time Day-Light was quite gone, without the Barbarians abating their Fury; On the Contrary, thinking the Darkness befriended

friended 'em, as the Kings had before order'd, they doubled it. Whereupon *Marius* taking Measures from the Posture of his Affairs, resolv'd to possess himself of Two Hills at a small Distance, and near each other, To secure a Place of Retreat for his Army. On the least, which had not Space to Encamp on, there was yet a large Fountain of Water; And the other was fit for the End he aim'd at, because it was very high and steep, and needed but little Fortification. He order'd away *L. Sylla* with the Horse, to take Post for the Night on the former: And Himself rally'd by degrees the rest, who were much dispers'd, (and the Enemy no less) and retir'd in full March with 'em to the latter. The Kings deterr'd by the Difficulties of Access to him from making any farther Attempts, wou'd not however draw off, but lay along Investing, like Besiegers, both the Hills with their extended Multitude. During the Night They had a great many Fires, revell'd in Merriment, Skipp'd about, and made dissonant Noises with their Throats, according to their Barbarous way; The Kings Themselves being mightily elevated that They had not been routed, and Carrying it like Victors. All which was easily discernible by Our Men, as standing in the Dark upon Upper Ground, and extremely encourag'd 'em. Especially *Marius* being much embolden'd to see such Want of Discipline in his Adversaries, Commands a profound Silence in his Camp, Not permitting the Trumpets to sound upon Relieving the Watches, as They us'd to do: And as soon as ever the Day broke, a little before which the Enemy tir'd with their Jollity had been seiz'd with Sleep, He orders the Trumpets of the several Legions, Cohorts and Troops, with the Tributary Ones, to Sound of a sudden, and All at once; And the rest of the Army at the same time to pour down with a

loud Shout. The *Moors* and *Getulians* presently waken'd with such a horrid and unusual Noise, cou'd neither fly, nor stand to their Arms, nor had Power to do any thing for Themselves: To such a degree were They har'd and stupify'd by the Clangor, Din, and Tumult about 'em; by the *Romans* thund'ring on all sides, None to Succour Them, and Nothing but Terror and Amazement spreading it self around 'em. In a Word, They were totally overthrown: Most of their Ensigns and Arms taken, and more slain in this Action than in all the preceding put together. For, Their being Asleep, and Surpriz'd so frightfully, hinder'd their Saving Themselves by Flight.

Marius, as soon as the Thing was over, pursu'd his way towards Winter-Quarters, which he meant to take in the Maritime Towns, for the sake of being supply'd with Provisions. In the mean time, his late Victory made him neither Remiss nor Inso-lent. But Vigilant, as if the Enemy were in sight, He march'd his Army in four Bodies, To face the easier every way: Posted *Sylla* with the Cavalry on the Right: Order'd *A. Manlius* with the Archers and Slingers, and the Cohorts of *Ligurians*, to Cover the Left: Plac'd the Tribunes with several Bands of Light-Arm'd Foot in the Van and Rear: And us'd the Deserters, who were acquainted with the Coun-trey, as Scouts to observe the Motions of the Enemy. All the while the Consul Himself, as if there had been no other Officer, saw to all Things, was up with every Body, prais'd or reprov'd as he found Occasion, rode about Arm'd as for Action, and kept the Men on their Guard as much. Moreover, as he was Cautious in his March, he was equally Careful to Secure his Camp; Planting the Auxiliary Horse before it, the Legionary Cohorts to watch at the Gates, Others on the Works above the Trenches, and Going the Rounds of the whole Himself; Not

so much from any Distrust that what he had Commanded wou'd not be perform'd, as to win the Soldiers to do it chearfully, seeing their General shar'd with Them in their Toils. Indeed, *Marius* on all Occasions throughout the War, as well as upon this, aw'd 'em into Discipline more by the Shame of his own Example, than by punishing their Defaults ; Which many said proceeded from Ambition in him ; But Others, from his taking Delight in Hardships, and the Things that are perfect Miseries to most, as having been bred to them from his Youth. However That were, It was such a Course as was more serviceable to the Commonwealth, than the greatest Severities cou'd have been. On the fourth Day, as They were marching along not far from the Town of *Cirta*, The Scouts appear'd on every side, Hasting in to the Body of the Army : A sure Token that the Enemy was at hand : But because They return'd from different Quarters, and yet All with the same Intelligence ; The Consul uncertain in what Form it was most advisable to draw up his Army, let it remain in the Order it was, and halted to attend the Coming of the Kings ; Having already, as was said before, a Front every way to receive 'em. Accordingly, *Jugurtha* was disappointed ; Who having divided his Forces into four Bodies, made account that some of 'em, at least, wou'd be able to fall on the *Romans* in their Rear. In the interim, *Sylla*, with whom the Enemy first came up, after a brief Encouraging of his Men, with some of the Horse closely ferried, advanc'd and briskly attack'd the Moors ; While the rest continuing in their Posts, defended Themselves as well as They cou'd from the Darts that were thrown at 'em from afar, and as certainly flew all such as durst adventure within their Reach. While the Cavalry were thus engag'd, *Bocchus* with the Foot, which his Son *Volux* had

brought up for a Reinforcement, and who having been retarded in their March had not been present in the former Battel, fell in upon the Rear of the *Romans*. *Marius* was Then acting in the Front, *Jugurtha* with a Numerous Force being There. But the latter, when he heard of *Bocchus*'s Onset, steals away with a few to the Infantry, and cries out to our Soldiers in *Letin*, (which he had learn'd to speak at the Siege of *Numantia*) That it was to no purpose for Them to Contend any longer, since he had but a little before dispatch'd *Marius* with his own Hand : Holding up his Sword to be seen besmear'd all over with Blood ; tho' indeed 'twas only a Foot-Soldier's, whom he had briskly fought with and kill'd. The *Romans* were struck with the Horror of the Action, without Considering the Credit of the Relator ; And on the Contrary, the Barbarians were animated, and taking Advantage of the Surprize of our Men, push'd 'em with a greater Fury than ever ; In so much That They were within a little of plain Running, When *Sylla* returning from the Rout of Those whom he had gone against, Charg'd in upon the Flank of the *Moors*, Putting *Bocchus* immediately to Flight. And as for *Jugurtha*, while he was endeavouring to support his Troops, and maintain the Victory so near gotten ; being surrounded on each side by the Horse that were thus brought back, and All They who were about him slain, he broke single through the thickest of the Enemy to get off clear with his Life. By this time *Marius*, who had overthrown the Cavalry with whom he had been engag'd, Came in to the Relief of his Foot, which he heard had been forc'd to give Ground. And now the *Africans* in all Quarters were entirely broke to pieces, and defeated. Then it was, that the Field about presented a Scene most horrid to see to : Flying, pursuing, killing and taking ; Men and Horses

grovel-

groveling in Torture ; The Wounded not able to tarry quietly on the Spot, nor to 'scape away ; striv-
ing for their Lives, and staggering along, and then
presently dropping down : In a Word, All where-
ever You cou'd see was strew'd over with Arms and
Carcases , and the Spaces between distain'd with
Blood.

Marius, who was now an Undoubted Conqueror, march'd without any Trouble to *Cirta* , whither he design'd to have gone before ; And where about some five Days after came Ambassadors to him from *Bocchus*, Desiring the Consul in the Name of Their Master, to send Two of the Trustiest of his People to Confer with him of Matters that Concern'd the Common Interest of the *Romans* and Himself. Upon which *L. Sylla* and *A. Manlius* were dispatch'd to him : Who , tho' they went at the Instance of *Bocchus*, were yet clearly for Speaking first, To dis-
pose him to Peace , if he was Cold in't ; and if Forward , To incite him the more to it. And accordingly *Sylla* , to whose Eloquence more than the Seniority of Years the Other gave the Precedence, thus briefly deliver'd Himself.

‘ We are very glad, King *Bocchus* ! That the Gods
‘ at length have given a Heart to such a Person as
‘ You are to prefer Peace before War ; To take
‘ Care of Your own Merit, that it be not stain'd by
‘ having to do any longer with such a Caitiff as *Ju-
gurtha* ; And to ease Us of the Ungrateful Necessi-
‘ ty of prosecuting not only a Villain , but You
‘ Your Self whom he led away. The *Romans* from
‘ the very Infancy of their State, when They most
‘ needed to enlarge their Territory, were rather for
‘ multiplying Friends than Subjects ; And have al-
‘ ways thought it a better way to make a People
‘ Easy , than Enslave 'em. Nor can an Alliance

' with any Power better secure You, than One with
 ' Us. For first, We lye at too great a Distance to
 ' offer Wrongs, or create You Jealousies ; Yet not
 ' so great, but the Reputation of Our being Your
 ' Friend, as well as Our Strength, will advantage
 ' You as much as if We were Neighbours t' Ye.
 ' And next, Because We have got already Enough
 ' to Exercise Rule over ; But We, or any other Po-
 ' tentate, Can never be over-stock'd with Confede-
 ' rates. I cou'd heartily wish for Your own sake
 ' that You had taken these Measures at first, where-
 ' by You wou'd have reap'd greater Advantages by
 ' this time from Us, than You have suffer'd Prejudice.
 ' But since there's a Fate that over-rules most of the
 ' Affairs of Mankind ; And Her Pleasure was You
 ' shou'd make Tryal as well of Our Force, as Now
 ' of Our Kindness ; Embrace, Sir, the Liberty She
 ' allows You, and hasten to accomplish what You
 ' have begun. You have Ways enough to efface the
 ' Memory of past Mistakes by succeeding Services.
 ' Rest Assur'd that the People of *Rome* will never be
 ' outdone in Benefits. And as to what They Can do
 ' by Arms, You have made Proof of That al-
 ' ready.

To which *Bocchus* in a gentle manner reply'd
 briefly to Excuse his Conduct, ' That it was not from
 ' any Hostile Intention he had taken up Arms, but
 ' to protect his Dominions ; That having * some
 ' time since by his Sword won part of *Numidia* from
 ' *Jugurtha*, and made it his Own by the Laws of War,
 ' he Cou'd not patiently look on and see it laid waste

* Some think there had been a Dispute between the Kings about the
 Bounds of their Territories, that *Bocchus* had won Ground from
 the other, and that 'twas afterwards Confirm'd to him as a Dower
 with *Jugurtha's* Daughter.

‘ by *Marius* ; That he had formerly sent Ambassadors to *Rome* to request an Alliance, but had been refus’d it ; But that he had rather omit Entring into a Discourse of Things that were past ; Being ready with the Approbation of *Marius*, to send again to the Senate Now.’ But after Liberty had been given for it, the *Barbarian*’s Mind was again chang’d by the Applications of such about him, as *Jugurtha*, who had receiv’d an Account of this Embassay of *Sylla* and *Manlius* and apprehended the Effects of it, had brib’d. *Marius* in the mean time having settled the Gross of his Army in Winter-Quarters, march’d away with some light Cohorts and Part of the Horse into the Desarts, To lay Siege to the Royal Tower, which *Jugurtha* had garison’d with all the Deserters. When again *Bocchus*, whether reflecting on the Issue of the two forementioned Battels, or mov’d by the Advice of Others of his Friends, that *Jugurtha* had left uncorrupted, picks out Five of the best reputed of All his Council for Faithfulness and Capacity, and orders ’em away (first) to *Marius*, and afterwards, with His Permission, to *Rome* : Giving ’em full Power to Negotiate and to End the War upon any Terms. Accordingly with all possible hast They parted for the Winter-Quarters of the *Romans* ; But being in their Way beset by a Gang of *Gætulian* High-way Men, and stript of their Equipage, They fled away in a trembling Condition and very sorry Plight to *Sylla*, who was left behind as *Prætor* by the Consul when he went on his fore-hinted Expedition. *Sylla* receiv’d Them Not as They deserv’d, like fickle Enemies, but with great Civility, and very liberally supply’d their Wants. Upon which the *Barbarians* grew persuaded that the Talk of the *Romans* Avarice was but Calumny, and that *Sylla* by his Kindness must needs be their Friend. For the Practice of giving from other Motives was hardly known even

at

at That time. Every Body that made a Present was suppos'd to do it from good Will ; And All Bounty was ascrib'd to Benevolence. Whereupon They frankly unfolded to the Quæstor the Commission with which *Bocchus* had entrusted Them : And besought him to favour 'em with his Aid and Advice ; Crying up at the same time the Forces, the Grandeur, and the Honour of their Master, and speaking several other Things which They thought Either the Interest of the *Romans* wou'd appear Concern'd in, or at least that wou'd please 'em. *Sylla* having promis'd them his Assistance, and instructed 'em what they shou'd say to *Marius*, and how, afterwards, to Address the Senate, They waited about forty Days for him. At length the Consul return'd to *Cirta*, without having succeeded in his Enterprize. And being inform'd of the Arrival of the *Moors* he appoints 'em an Audience, and sends for *Sylla*, with *L. Bellienus* the Prætor from *Utica*, and All others of Senator's Degree ; In whose Presence he had *Bocchus*'s Intentions and Demands laid open by the Ambassadors : Who insisted for Liberty to go to *Rome*, and in the Interim to have a Cessation of Arms. *Sylla* and the greatest Part of 'em were for it, But Some there were who furiously oppos'd it, Ignorant of the Nature of Human Things, which is mutable, and apt to alter for the Worse. The *Moors* having got their Demands granted. Three of 'em set out for *Rome* with *C. Octavius Rufo*, who was one of the Quæstors, and had brought Money into *Africa* for the Army , while the Other Two return'd to their Prince : To whom They related all that had past, and particularly the Kindness and Good Will of *Sylla*. To the Three at *Rome*, after They had own'd in a modest Manner the Errors of their King, desir'd Pardon for his Suff'ring Himself to be led away by the Artifices of *Jugurtha*, and requested a Reconciliation and Friendship, 'Twas answer'd,

swer'd, ' That the *Roman* Senate and People were
' equally Mindful of Services, and Injuries. But
' that in as much as *Bocchus* was penitent, They
' wou'd pass over the Fault he had Committed ; And
' admit him into a League and Alliance as soon as
' his Merits gave him a Title.

Of which as soon as the King had an Account, He wrote to the Consul to send him *Sylla*, To adjust the Matters in Controversy between 'em. Accordingly he was dispatch'd away with a Guard of Horse, Foot, Archers, *Balearic Slingers*, and a *Pæliguian* Cohort with light Arms for the sake of speed : With which Yet They were as well secur'd as by any other against the Darts of the Enemy, in regard These too were but light. On the fifth Day, as They were marching along, *Volux* the Son of *Bocchus* appear'd all on a sudden in an open Champaign at the Head of about a Thousand Horse : Who riding scatter'd, and somewhat furiously, seem'd not only More than They were, but gave a mistrust as well to *Sylla* as to all the rest that They Came as Enemies. Whereupon Every One made ready, fix'd All his Weapons in order, and put himself in a Posture for Engaging. Some little Fears They were not without, but withal They had much greater Hopes, as being try'd Conquerors, and to fight against Those, whom They had more than once overcome. In the mean time the Van-Couriers, who were sent before to discover Matters, return'd with Tidings that All were Friends ; And *Volux* afterwards Coming up address'd himself to the Quæstor and acquainted him that He Came Thus by Command of his Father at once to do him Honour, and to guard him. Upon which They join'd and Continu'd their March that and the next Day without Suspicion. But in the Evening after the Camp was pitch'd the *Moor* with Fear and Disorder in his Countenance Comes in

great

great hast to *Sylla*, and informs him that He was asfur'd by his Spies that *Jugurtha* was but a little way off ; Urging at the same time and beseeching him to retire alone with Him in the Night. *Sylla* with the very Fire in his Eyes, declar'd that he was not at all afraid of the *Numidian*, whom They had beat so often, That he was very well satisfy'd of the Valour of his Men, and, in short , That tho' he were sure to perish, He wou'd rather tarry and fight it out, than deserting the Troops with which he was entrust-ed, make Provision by an infamous Flight for a frail Life, and such peradventure as might shortly become the Prey of a Disease. However he approv'd of his Advice in the main for dislodging under the favour of the Night ; And immediately order'd the Soldiers to their Supper, and having lighted abundance of Fires in his Camp, broke up from it with the utmost Silence before the Expiring of the first Watch. And after the Fatigue of his Night-March halted at Sunrise and encamp'd ; When all of a sudden some *Moorish* Troopers arriv'd with Intelligence that *Jugurtha* lay but about two Miles before 'em. As soon as This was bruited in the Camp, there was a great Consternation among Our Men, who took it for granted that *Volux* had betray'd 'em and drawn 'em into an Ambuscade. In so much that some of 'em cry'd out, That such Villany ought not to go unpunish'd, but be reveng'd on the Traytor by Cutting him in pieces. But *Sylla*, tho' he likewise believ'd the Treachery, yet protected the *Moor* from All In-jury. And told his Troops that They must rouze up their Valour: that it was not the first time that an Handful of Brave Fellows had discomfited Thou-sands : That the bolder They were in Battel, the safer : And that None who had Arms im his Hands to fight shou'd look for his Safety from unarm'd Feet, And in a general Distress turn a naked and blind Back

to be insulted by his Enemy. And lastly invoking the mighty *Jupiter* to become a Witness of the Perfidy of *Bocchus*, he Commanded *Volux* to depart his Camp as One who at bottom acted against him. On the Contrary, He with Tears in his Eyes intreats him to lay aside his Suspicions, Assuring him that there was no Treachery, but that all proceeded from the Subtilty of *Jugurtha*, who by Spies had discover'd his Night's March: And that since the *Numidian* had no great Force with him, and his Chief Dependance was upon his Father, he presum'd that he wou'd not dare to make any open Attempt, where the Son must be a Witness of it. That therefore he thought it the best way to go boldly through the midst of his Camp, And that, sending away his *Moors* before, or leaving them behind, as shou'd seem fitteſt, He was ready to accompany him singly Himself. This, as in a Case of Extremity, being hearken'd to, They ſet forward without any Delay, and arriving on a ſudden before *Jugurtha* had time to resolve upon what to do, They paſſ'd without any Interruption: And in a few Days got to their Journey's End.

There was then with *Bocchus* a certain *Numidian* call'd *Aspar*, that was very great with, and who upon *Sylla*'s being thus ſent for had been dispatch'd to him by *Jugurtha* as his Agent to croſs the Negotiation, and to pry into all the *Moor*'s Resolutions. Moreover, there was with him one *Dabar*, the Son of *Massugrada*, of the Family of *Masinissa*, but not ſo illuſtrious on the Female Side, for his Father hap-pen'd to be born of a Concubine. This Person being highly in his Favour on account of his many Excellent Endowments, and having always been found in the Interest of the *Romans*, he deputes him forth-with to wait upon *Sylla* and acquaint him He was ready to do any Thing that the People of *Rome* shou'd think reasonable: That the Quæſtor Himself might

might appoint a Place and Hour for a Conference : That whatever Measures They agreed between them for the better Managing the Affair He wou'd approve of : That *Sylla* shou'd not Conceive any Jealousies if he saw the Agent of *Jugurtha* There, In regard that Their Business by that means might be carry'd on with the less suspicion, And since he had no other way of warding against him, than by laying him asleep. But I find that *Bocchus* in holding at once both the *Romans* and *Numidian* in hand about Peace acted more with a *Punic* Dissimulation than on Such Reasons as he gave out : Having frequent Struggles and Debates in his Mind Whether he had best give up *Jugurtha* into the hands of the *Romans*, or *Sylla* into His ; His Inclinations pleading against us, and his Fears of our Power as strongly for us. The Answer that *Sylla* return'd was, that he wou'd say but little before *Aspar*, and reserve the rest to be settled in private with None but Himself or but very few with him ; At the same time Instructing *Dabar* as to what Reply shou'd be made him by the King. When They were met the Quæstor told him that he came by order of the Consul to know of him whether his Design was for Peace or War. To which He reply'd, as he had been directed, that he Cou'd not resolve upon any Thing Then, but desir'd him to Come about ten Days after, at which time he shou'd have an Answer. Upon this They departed to their several Quarters. But as soon as it grew to the dead of the Night *Sylla* was secretly sent for by *Bocchus* ; And None were admitted on either side but some to interpret truly between 'em : Of whom *Dabar* before nam'd, a Man of clear Integrity, was One, and who was sworn to be faithful to both. Upon which the King began thus.

‘ I did

‘ I did never imagine ’twou’d Come to pass that I
‘ the greatest Prince in this Countrey, and the rich-
‘ est of All that were Ever known in’t shou’d be be-
‘ holden to a private Person. Before My Knowledge
‘ of Thee, O *Sylla*, I have succour’d Multitudes,
‘ Many upon begging it, and Others as freely of
‘ My own Accord, but never wanted the Assistance
‘ of Any. And that the Case is otherwise Now,
‘ which wou’d be a mighty Mortification to most
‘ Monarchs, for my own part I am glad. It’s rather
‘ my Happiness to stand in need at length of such a
‘ Friendship as Your’s, A Friendship I value above
‘ every Thing, and which I shall Cultivate with the
‘ utmost Fondness. Try if I am not in good earnest,
‘ and take of My Arms, My Forces, and My Mo-
‘ ney; Use any Thing of Mine as You please; And
‘ as long as You live, Never suppose I have made
‘ You a full requital for Your Kindnesses. No, the
‘ Sense of ’em shall live with Me always: And there’s
‘ Nothing You shall desire in Vain, if I know and
‘ Can help You to it. For I think it a greater Dis-
‘ honour for a King to be out-done in Generosity
‘ than in Arms. Now as to the Affairs of Your Re-
‘ publick, in behalf of which You are Come to treat,
‘ I shall only say this in short: That I neither began
‘ the War with You My self, nor was Ever desirous
‘ to have it made; I only defended My own Terri-
‘ tories against an armed Force that invaded ’em.
‘ But I pass That. Carry on the War against the
‘ *Numidian* as You think Convenient. I will neither
‘ stir over the *Mulucha*, the Bound that was between
‘ Me and *Micipsa*, Nor suffer *Fugurtha* on the other
‘ side to do it. And if You have any thing more to
‘ ask that is fit for Me to do, You shall not be re-
‘ fus’d it.

Sylla to what related to Himself reply’d but briefly
and with much Modesty: but enlarg’d on the busi-
ness

ness of Peace and of the Public ; and let the King, in fine, understand, ' That the Offer he made wou'd not be taken by the Senate and People of *Rome* as a Kindness, Since They were so superior in Arms to him ; That there was something further to be Done, which shou'd look more for Their Interest than his Own ; That he needed not the Means of performing it, inasmuch as he had *Fugurtha* in his Power, Whom if he deliver'd up to the *Romans*, He wou'd lay the greatest Obligation upon 'em : And be freely presented with Peace, an Alliance, and ' The Part of *Numidia* he made Pretensions to.' At first the King refus'd to Comply, Urging Blood, Affinity, and Engagements : And declaring moreover his Apprehensions of disgusting his People, if he gave up *Fugurtha*, In regard They had All an Exceeding Love for him, and on the other hand a Hatred of the *Romans*. But at length by Persuasions and Importunity He became flexible, and promis'd to do whatever *Sylla* shou'd desire of him. Then They fell to Concerting Measures for Carrying on the Show of a Peace that shou'd Comprehend the *Numidian* in it, the great Thing that *Fugurtha* aim'd at ; And after having settled between 'em the whole Plot against him They parted.

Bocchus the very next Day sends for *Aspar*, *Fugurtha*'s Agent, and tells him he had fish'd out of *Sylla* by *Dabar* that the War might be made an end of on Conditions : And therefore that he wou'd do well to know the Sentiments of his Master about it. *Aspar* hereupon posted away with a great deal of Joy to *Fugurtha*'s Camp. From whence He return'd with great dispatch after Eight Days Absence fully instructed ; and acquainted the King that *Fugurtha* was ready to yield to Every Thing that shou'd be demanded : But that he Cou'd not rely on any Treaty with *Marius*, since Articles made by the *Roman* Generals had

had been often before Now set aside ; That if *Bocchus* wou'd Consult the Advantage not only of *Fugurtha* but Himself, and Have such a Peace as shou'd hold, he shou'd get All the Parties together on pre-
tence of conferring about the Terms of it , and there deliver him up *Sylla* ; For that having such a Person in his hands , the Peace wou'd out of meer necessity be agreed to by the *Roman* Senate and Peo-
ple, who wou'd not suffer a Man of his Rank, That became a Prisoner by the serving his Countrey, and not through any default of his own, to Continue long in the hands of an Enemy. The *Moor* after a long pond'ring the Proposal in his Mind, at last Consent-
ed. But whether his taking so much time before he wou'd seem determin'd to Comply proceeded from Artifice to pretend doubtfulnes, or from real Fluctua-
tion I Cou'd never learn. Only 'tis Certain , the Wills of Kings , as They are vehement , are also changeable , and Very often Self-Contradictory. Wherefore a Time and Place was appointed for holding a Conference about the Peace ; In the Inter-
rim whereof *Bocchus* wou'd send (sometimes) for *Sylla*, and (then) for *Aspar* : Caress'd Each alike in his turn, and made the same Promises to both : Who thereupon were equally pleas'd and big with Hopes of accomplishing their Point. But on the Night before the Day upon which the Conference was to be had the *Moor* call'd a Council of his Friends , and then presently altering his Mind dismiss'd 'em , and remain'd, as 'tis said, Alone, Under a great Agitation of Soul , which he made appear plainly enough in his various Gestures of Body , and by his Counte-
nance ; Discovering, tho' all the while silent, by the frequent going and coming of his Colour, the differ-
ent Workings which he had in his Breast. The Re-
sult was, That *Sylla* was Call'd for, and the Plot up-
on *Fugurtha* laid as He wou'd have it. To Execute

which, when Day arriv'd, and Word was brought that *Jugurtha* was approaching, *Bocchus* with the *Quæstor* and a few Friends went out to meet him on pretence of Honouring him, and rode up to a little Eminence that was Very easy to be seen by Those whom They had order'd to lye in wait; Whither the *Numidian* also Coming with many of his Domesticks unarm'd, as said, The Ambuscade on a Signal given rush'd out upon him at once; So All his Retinue was Cut in pieces, and Himself deliver'd bound to *Sylla*, who Carry'd Him away Captive to *Marius*.*

It happen'd about this Juncture That two of our Generals *Q. Cæpion* and *M. Manlius* in fighting against the *Gauls* were defeated: Which put all *Italy* into a Consternation; It being a Rule both among our Ancestors, as also the *Romans* of These Days, That Their Valour Cou'd easily make Every Thing, but the Hardiness of This Enemy, Submit, but That They fought for their Lives with the *Gauls*, without pretending to Win Lawrels. Now as soon as the News had reach'd *Rome* of the End put to the War in *Numidia*, and that *Jugurtha* was bringing in Chains, *Marius* tho' absent was made Consul: The Countrey of *Gaul* decreed him for his Province; And in the Calends of *January* he Triumph'd as a Conqueror with very great Magnificence and Glory. From which Time the whole City had their Eyes upon him as their Bulwark and Hope.

The End of the Jugurthine War.

* By whom *Jugurtha* with his two Sons was afterwards, as is said, Led in Triumph, And Then Thrown Naked into a Dungeon, Where in Six Days He was Famish'd to Death.

† Contrary to the Custom; which Requir'd the Presence of the Party Chosen, but was Now Dispens'd with.

FRAGMENTS
FROM OTHER
HISTORIES
OF
SALLUST.

VIZ.

Out of the First Book These.

* **A**LL the Factions and Disturbances of the State arose from the Pravity of Human Nature, Restless, Unsatisfy'd, and Struggling perpetually for Liberty, Glory, or Arbitrary Power.

The Puissance of the *Romans* was very Great, at the time that *S. Sulpitius* and *M. Marcellus* were Consuls : All *Gallia* on this side the *Rhyne*, and between

* These Fragments are thought to be Distinct, and are therefore put in several Paragraphs : Yet seem to have no ill Coherence ; and are so Instructive, that I cou'd not but Translate 'em.

† Our Sea and the Ocean, Except what was Unpassable for Marshes, being then reduc'd under Their Dominion. But the Manners of the Republick were Best, and Things were Transacted with Most Harmony, in the Interval between the Second and Last *Carthaginian War*.

But Ambition, and Avarice, and a Spirit of Faction, with the other Attendants of Peace and Prosperity, Came in like a Flood after *Carthage* was Destroy'd. Some Encroachments of the Great Men, Dividings thereupon of the Commonalty from the Fathers, and other Dissentions there were from the Beginning: Nor did They, being Rid of their Kings, Continue to Manage with Just Moderation, any longer than while th' *Etrurian War* was on their Hands, and They were under the Fear of *Tarquin's Return*. But That being over, The Fathers began to Carry it like Lords over the People: To Dispose of Life and Death, as their Monarchs: To Dispossess 'em of their Houses and Lands: And to Govern Exclusive of All besides. Whereby the Commons being greatly Oppress'd, but above all by the Grievance of *Usury*, and the Taxes They paid towards the Wars which They also were forc'd to Serve in in Person, They Took Arms and possess'd Themselves of the *Capitol* and *Aventine Mount*. The Issue of which was, That They obtain'd Tribunes with Power to Defend 'em for the future, Together with other Rights and Privileges. And the Heats and Contention on Each side Ended with the Second *Punick War*.

As soon as the *Romans*, deliver'd from their Fears of the Power of their *Carthaginian Rival*, were at liberty to fall into Feuds at Home, there arose A-

† *The Mediterranean.*

bundance of Factions and Disturbances, which Ended at last in a Civil War ; While a Few Great Ones, in whose Favour the Rest had Resign'd as it were their Birth-Rights, Set up the Specious Pretence of Maintaining the Power of the Fathers and (sometimes) of the People, but Aim'd in Reality at Promoting their Own ; And were Call'd Good Citizens, or the Contrary, Not for their Merits towards the Publick, They being All Equally Corrupt, but with reference to the Measure of their Riches and Strength ; On the Foot of which as Each was Successful, He was Stil'd, forsooth, the Saviour of the State. † From which Period the Manners of our Ancestors Degenerated, Not, as before, Gradually, but with Precipitation like a Torrent Descending ; And the Youth was so Leaven'd with Luxury and Avarice, that it might justly be said They were a Generation that Cou'd neither Retain any Thing of their Own, Nor wou'd suffer Others to Enjoy Theirs.

*The Harangue of the Consul M. Æmilius Lepidus,
to the People of Rome, against Sylla.*

“ **Y**Our Innocence and Tenderness, Worthy Romans ! by which You have render'd Your Selves so Famous among All the Nations of the World, Fill Me with reference to the * Tyranny

† 'Tis a Question whether This had Connection originally in Our Author with That which precedes ; but however That be, The Date of the Period may be fix'd, as I think, from the Ruin of Carthage.

* This Harangue is suppos'd to have been made after Sylla had quitted the Dictatorship, and Levell'd against the Tyranny He continu'd to Exercise by his Creatures, who are afterwards struck at.

“ of *Sylla*, Only with so much Greater Apprehensions That either You’ll let Your Selves be Impos’d on by Not believing He’ll e’re proceed to the Perpetration of such Things as You think wou’d be Execrable to be Done by You ; (For All his Hopes, by the way , are built on his own Dexterity at Perfidy and Dissembling ; Nor do’s he Deem Himself otherways safe , than by being a Yet Flagrant Villain than ever *Your* Fears Can Forebode , and by bringing You into such helpless Circumstances that You sha’n’t Attempt the Recovering Your Liberty :) Or if You’re Awaken’d and shall Arm against Him , that a bare Self-Defence will Content You , without taking Revenge on his Ambition. For his Pensioner-Guard , who happen to be Men of the most Exalted Figure and Names , and Stock’d no less with Noble Examples of Forefathers for their Imitation , I Can’t Enough Admire at their Conduct ; who purchase the Lording it over You with the Dear Price of their Own Liberties , and had rather on Any Terms Tyrannize , than Live Free and by Rules of Justice. Egregious Offspring of the *Brutus*’s and *Æmiliij* ! Illustrious Progeny of the Great *Lutacj* ? Born to Subvert Those Things which Their Ancestors Rear’d and Settled by their Virtue ! For what was it Else for which They Contended against the Mighty *Pyrrhus* and *Hannibal* , *Philip* and *Antiochus* , but the Cause of Liberty, and for Every Roman to Enjoy his Own , without Subjection to Any but the Laws ? Which Our Outrageous *Romulus* , that wou’d be, Tears from us like Spoils from an Enemy, As Not satisfy’d with the Blood and Slaughter of so many Armies , of One Confus’d , and of Other Chiefs that the Sword has Destroy’d: Nay, He Grows but more Barbarous

“ on

“ on his Conquests ; Which when Over, the Fury
“ of Others uses to Soften into Compassion.
“ Moreover, He is the Only Man that was ever
“ known to Extend his † Punishments to the Chil-
“ dren (possibly) Unborn , whose Fate it is to
“ begin to Suffer as soon as Ever They begin to
“ Live ; And He shamefully Acts his Rage with
“ Impunity , Protected by the Very Greatness of
“ his Villanies , While You are Deter'd from Resu-
“ ming Liberty by the Fear that Your Yoke will
“ be made the Heavier. Away with This, We
“ must Rouze, O *Romans* ! We must Up, and Act,
“ and Encounter the Oppressor , lest He Go off
“ with All that We Have. We are not to Dally,
“ nor hope by Prayers or Lazy Wishes to Advan-
“ tage Our selves : Unless You Fancy, that Tir'd
“ with his Tyranny, or Asham'd on't , He will Run
“ the Greater Hazard of Quitting what He has
“ Ravish'd by Injustice. But alas ! He has Gone
“ so far , that He looks upon Nothing Glorious but
“ as it serves to Secure him : And Every Thing
“ tending to the Conservation of his ill-gotten Pow-
“ er , He Accounts Honest. So that the Peace
“ and Quiet with Liberty , which Good Men use
“ to Prefer to Hurry and Fatigue tho' attended
“ with Honours , Weigh Nothing at all with *Him*.
“ Matters are brought to such a Pass , that We must
“ either Resolve to Rule or be Slaves ; And must
“ Live in a State of Fear Our selves , or become,
“ My Countreymen ! a Terror to Our Adversaries.
“ For where's there any Medium in the Case ? And
“ what One Thing is there of Human or Divine
“ that Remains Unviolated ? The People of *Rome*,

† By Divesting the Children of the Proscrib'd of all the Privileges
of the Commonwealth.

" who the other Day cou'd Boast Themselves the
 " Master of the World, Bereft Now of Empire
 " and Glory, without Law, and Helpless and De-
 " spis'd, have hardly the * Allowance of Slaves
 " left 'em. Great Part of Our Allies and of *Lat-
 " um*, who were by Your Unanimous Act Invest-
 " ed with the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens in Con-
 " sideration of their Numerous Services, are De-
 " barr'd 'em by This One Man. And the Houses
 " and Lands of Our Innocent Commonalty, and
 " Their Fathers before 'em, are Seiz'd upon as a
 " Prey by a Few Creatures of a Tyrant, that
 " Wickedness may not be Unrewarded. The Tre-
 " aury, Provinces, Potentates abroad, Power of
 " Life and Death over Citizens, and, in short, All
 " Jurisdiction and Law are Now in the Hands of
 " a Single Person. Then, What a Wanton Spil-
 " ling of Blood, What Detestable Sacrifices, even
 " Human, and (alas) of *Romans* have We seen
 " made? And in such a Case, Is there any Thing
 " left for *Men* to Do but to Root up the Tyrant-
 " y, or lose their Lives with Honour in the At-
 " tempt? Especially seeing Death is a Fate that
 " will Visit All tho' Immur'd in Steel; But None
 " but One of the Cowardice of a Woman, will
 " wait in a Tame manner for the Blow, without
 " making an Effort to Repel it. But *Sylla*, it seems,
 " will needs have it that I am a Turbulent Person
 " in the Government; Doubtless, because I De-
 " claim against the Rewarding of Turbulent Fel-
 " lows and Incendiaries. And that I am Fond of
 " Raising a War, I suppose, for that I appear Zea-
 " lous for Recovering Peace and Liberty toge-
 " ther; And because You Can't in Your present

* Referring to the Distributions of Corn which us'd to be made.

" Con-

“ Condition be Safe upon any other Terms, than
“ that *Vettius, Piceus, and the Notary Cornelius*, be
“ let alone to Squander away the Estates of O-
“ thers, who were forc'd to Acquire them by the
“ Sweat of their Brows, and an Honest Industry :
“ And that You Approve of All the Proscriptions
“ of Innocent People, because of Their Wealth :
“ Of the Torturing Men of the First Rank : Of
“ the Laying wast and Unpeopling the City, by
“ Murd’ring of Many, and Driving away Others :
“ And of Selling or prodigally Giving away the
“ Effects of the Miserable Citizens of *Rome*, as if
“ They were so many † *Cimbrian* Spoils. He fur-
“ ther Objects to me the Share that I have My Self
“ of the Goods of the Proscrib’d. But This I
“ Turn upon him by Observing, That ’tis One
“ of the Greatest Instances of his Tyranny, that
“ Neither I nor any Body else had been Safe if
“ We had Acted Well. And what I was forc’d to
“ Buy out of Fear, I will Legally Reconvey to the
“ Owners upon Repaying My Purchase-Money ;
“ Being fully Resolv’d to have no part in the Plun-
“ der or Properties of my Fellow-Countrymen.
“ Let us think Enough the Things that We have
“ Suffer’d, like Madmen All, to be Done amongst
“ Us, *Romans* Fighting against *Romans*, and Our
“ Arms turn’d from Strangers on Our selves. Let
“ an End at length be put to Impiety and all the
“ Calamities of an Arbitrary Power. For which
“ *Sylla*’s so far from Shewing any Remorse, that He
“ Glories in his Deeds, and wou’d Act, if He might,
“ the same Game over again with a Higher Hand.
“ Nor am I under the least Apprehension that You

† Referring to the Booty taken from the *Cimbrians*, Over Whom
but a little before *Marius* had Gain’d a Compleat Victory.

“ think

“ think otherwise of him than I do: I am only
“ Afraid How far You will Dare: And that Look-
“ ing Idely One upon Another, Expecting who will
“ begin the Work, You Let Your Selves be Fore-
“ clos’d and Prevented; Not by *His* Strength,
“ which is Dwindled and Weak, but Your *Own*
“ Cowardice, and before You will Come to a Re-
“ solve of Acting, and Be as Fortunate as Resolute.
“ For, Except the Corrupt Creatures about Him,
“ Who is there will take his Part? Or rather,
“ Where’s the Man that Desires not, Bating the
“ Advantages he has made by Victory, to See
“ Every Thing Unravell’d? You’ll Tell me, *The*
“ *Soldiers*: By All Means! For Their Blood has
“ been Spill’t to Fatten with Plunder the Basest of
“ Slaves, *Tarrula* and *Scyrrbus*. Or You’ll Men-
“ tion Those who are Barr’d of the Magistracy for
“ the sake of *Fusidius*, That Male Chamber-
“ Maid, The Blemish of every Post He is pre-
“ ferr’d to. For my own part, I have no Doubt
“ but You’ll find Your Selves join’d by the Victor-
“ Army, Who after all their Wounds and Fatigue
“ perceive They have Nothing but a Tyrant for
“ the Upshot. Unless We can think ‘em Willing
“ to Abolish the Power of the Tribunes, Which
“ Their Forefathers Establish’d with so much La-
“ bour and Blood; and to strip Themselves Bare of
“ Their Own Authority: A Recompence worthy
“ of All Their Toils! When sent Home to Their
“ Woods and Marshes, They shall Find Hate and
“ Reproach for Their Portion, while Others Go off
“ with the Booty of the Conquest. How is it Then
“ that He Strides it so Haughtily with a Multitude
“ about him without any Controul? Why, Be-
“ cause His Villany is Varnish’d by Success; But
“ That Failing, He’ll Become as Despis’d by Every
“ One as He is Now Fear’d. Unless You’ll De-

“ lude

“ Iude Your selves with the Prospect of a Peaceable Settlement; With Pretences of which He Endeavours to Palliate his Enslaving his Countrey. He Tells Us the War will have No End till the Commons Estates (Barbarous Preying of a Vile Usurper!) are Settled in *Him*; And till All the Jurisdiction and Power, which was the People of *Rome*’s, be put into His Hands. If You Call *This* a Peaceable Settlement, Fairly Approve of the Worst Usurpations, and Even of the Ruin of the Common-Wealth; Submit to the Laws of Every Imposer; Embrace a Peace on the Foot of Servitude; And Deliver down to Posterity a Precedent, How the People of *Rome* May be Led into Laying out Their Blood to their Own’ Destruction. For my Own Part, Tho’ I want Nothing, through the High Station I am Now in, To protect Me against All Enemies, Or to Keep up My Grandeur, or the Honour of My Family; Yet I am Resolv’d it shall Never be said I pursue Only My Private Interests, and prefer Bondage attended with Quiet, to a Liberty Not to be Gain’d but with Hazards. And if You, My Countreymen! Have the same Resolutions, Up with *Me*, and By the Help of the Gods Follow the Consul *M. Amilius* as Your Leader, In Order to Recover the Jewel of Your Liberty.

The Harangue of L. Philippus against Lepidus.

“ Could I have my Wish, most Illustrious Fathers! The Common-Wealth shou’d always remain in a State of Tranquility, Or be Rescu’d from Trouble by the Hands of the most Virtuous and

“ and Brave ; And the Mischief projected against
“ it by its Enemies be turn’d back on their Own
“ Heads. But All is inverted , and Every Thing
“ among us is Overrun by Disorder and Faction ,
“ and This promoted too by the Men whose Duty
“ it was to have Secur’d our Quiet. The Wiseſt
“ and Best of Us are oblig’d to Execute whatever
“ Fools and Villains Resolve on. For Arms must
“ be taken , and To War We must go , because ,
“ forſooth , it is the Pleasure of *Lepidus* , How
“ much ſoever it be *Y^rour* Aversion. But perhaps ,
“ tho’ You are Friends to Peace , Yet You have
“ not the Courage to Oppoſe a War. Good
“ Gods ! That the Persons who Call Themselves
“ Governors of *Rome* , ſhou’d Abandon the Care of
“ it ! *M. Aemilius* the Meanest of All Caitiſſs , and
“ touching Whom it is hard to ſay whether He has
“ moſt of the Rascal or Coward , Heads an Army
“ for Oppressing our Liberty , and from a Piti-
“ ful Fellow has made Himſelf Formidable ; While
“ *Y^rou* Only Muttering to *Y^rour* ſelves , and En-
“ countring him with Words and with Propheſies
“ of Diviners , Discover Your Dispoſition to Peace
“ without Daring to appear in its Defence , Or
“ Conſid’ring how far the Tameness of Your Con-
“ duct will Inſpirit Your Adverſary , and Leſſen
“ *Y^rour* ſelves. Nor can This Effeſt be juſtly Com-
“ plain’d of , After You have let him Ravish the
“ Conſulate , and Acquire a Province and Army by
“ Sedition. What had He gain’d ; had He me-
“ rited of the Publick , when his Villanies meet
“ with Rewards ſo Exorbitant ! But ſuch , You
“ will Urge , as have ſtood Firm to their Votes
“ for Commissioners , Overtures of Agreement and
“ Complements to be ſent him , Have obtain’d Fa-
“ vour with him. By no Means : They’re De-
“ ſpis’d for their Sneaking , Thought Unworthy
“ the

“ the Name of *Romans*, and fittest of All to be
“ made his Prey ; Who Sollicit the Restoration of
“ Peace in the same Dastardly manner that They
“ Lost it. For my own part, From the very be-
“ ginning when I saw *Etruria* Engag'd in his De-
“ sign, The Proscrib'd got together about him,
“ and the Publick wrought into Factions by his
“ Bribes ; I judg'd there was no Time to be lost,
“ and therefore immediately with a Few Others
“ went into *Catulus*'s Measures for Opposing him.
“ To Them who Cry'd up the Mighty Services
“ th' *Æmilian* Family had done for the State, and
“ insinuated how the Greatness of *Rome* had been
“ very much Owing to a Spirit of Forgiveness, it
“ did not appear that *Lepidus* as Yet had made any
“ Considerable Steps. After He had actually taken
“ Arms without Your Authority, and to Oppress
“ Your Liberties, Every One Minding his own
“ Stake, left the Publick Naked and to Shift. But
“ *Lepidus* made at that Time little more than the
“ Figure of a Highway Man, attended with a Com-
“ pany of Camp Boys, and with some few Cut-
“ Throats about him, Fellows who are ready up-
“ on any Occasion to Sell their Lives for a Meal's
“ Meat. Whereas He is Now in the Place of
“ Consul, Invested with Authority (Not + pur-
“ chas'd, but Yielded him by *You*) and has Le-
“ gates under him, who as Yet are bound by Law
“ to Obey him. There are also flock'd to him great
“ Numbers of the Rascally People of All sorts,
“ Enrag'd by Want and their Lust after Rapine,
“ Hurry'd away by the Haunting Guilt of their
“ own Minds to Every Thing that's Desperate;
“ Villains who are Turbulent and Restless in Peace,

† Which before was his Way of Obtaining Power.

Never

" Never at Ease but in the Midst of Seditions, and
 " perpetually Sowing Tumult upon Tumult, and
 " blowing up One War out of Another: The Fol-
 " lowers (formerly) of *Saturninus*, some time after
 " That of *Sulpicius*, Then of *Marius* and *Damasip-*
 " *pus*, and Now of Their Worthy Successor *Lepi-*
 " *dus*. Moreover, *Etruria* and All the Remains of
 " the * lately Conquer'd are Up on his Behalf; Both
 " the *Spains* are Sollicited to Rise; *Mithridates*
 " Waits on the Frontier of Our Conquests (that
 " have hitherto been Our Main Support) for a
 " proper Season to Open a War with Us; And in
 " short, Our Adversaries want Nothing but a Fit
 " Leader to bid fair for entirely Overthrowing Our
 " Government. I Beseech You then, O Fathers!
 " and Conjure You to Arise and take the Care
 " of Our Affairs: And not to suffer the Madness of
 " Rebels to Spread it self, like a Plague, to the
 " Sound and, as Yet, Well-affected to the State.
 " For who will Continue Loyal for Nothing,
 " when Villains can Get so much by being Other-
 " wise? Or are You dispos'd to stand still till an
 " Army Comes up again to Your Gates, and to look
 " on while Your Enemy Enters and Ravages Your
 " City with Fire and Sword? Which upon the Foot
 " of his present Circumstances He will more natu-
 " rally be dispos'd to do, than to prefer Peace to
 " Civil Arms; which against All Rights both Di-
 " vine and Human He has taken up; Not to Re-
 " dress any Wrongs of his own, or of Those whose
 " Cause He pretends to Vindicate, but to Over-
 " throw Our Liberty and Laws. Distracted He
 " is in his Mind extremely; push'd by Ambition
 " on one Hand; withheld by a Guilty Dread on

* Those who had been of *Marius's* Party.

" the

“ the other ; Restless and Unknowing what to
“ Resolve on ; Trying This Way, and That, and
“ the Contrary : Peace He’s afraid of, and War
“ he Disrelishes : Foresees a Curb on his Luxury and
“ Licentiousness ; but in the Interim makes his Ad-
“ vantage of *Your* Conduct. Which I know not
“ what Name I shall Call by, whether of Cowar-
“ dice, Negligence, or Madness : While Every one
“ of You sensible of the Danger, and as appre-
“ hensive of it as of Thunder, wishes it may not
“ fall upon Himself, Yet makes not the least Motion
“ to prevent it. See, I beseech You, How the Case
“ is alter’d from what it was heretofore ! Then, if
“ the Publick was to be Attack’d, It was Struck
“ at by its Enemies Secretly ; and Defended, again,
“ by its Friends as Openly ; Wherein the Latter had
“ an Evident Advantage over their Disaffected An-
“ tagonists. But Now the Attempts are Bare-
“ fac’d, while the Opposition Dares not be Seen.
“ And They who have a Bad Cause are in the Field,
“ while *You* are Trembling at Home with a Good
“ one. What have You to Rest upon ? But perhaps
“ You’re ashame’d or Unwilling to Do any Thing
“ That’s Gallant. Are You mov’d by the Decla-
“ ration of *Lepidus* ? Who Commands You to Re-
“ store to Every Man his Own, but Detains the Pro-
“ perties of Others Himself ; Declares against all
“ Title of Conquest, And Yet is in Arms to Com-
“ pel You to Obedience ; Will have Our Consti-
“ tution be Confirm’d, but has taken Measures
“ that it May not Act ; And in fine, Insists on a
“ Restitution of the Tribunitial Authority to the
“ Mob, As the Means (forsooth) to keep Us in
“ Peace, Tho’ in Truth ’twas the Source of All
“ our Contentions. Basest and most Impudent of
“ Men ! Are the Miseries and Fears of Unhap-
“ py Citizens become *Thy* Concern, who posseſ-
“ *left*

" sett Nothing at the same Moment but by Arms
 " and Oppression ? Thou sett'st up for another
 " Consulate , as if the Former were yielded up ;
 " Thou seek'st for Sham Peace, by a War that Robs
 " us of the Real We had before : Rebel to Us !
 " Deceiver of thy own Side ! Enemy of All Ho-
 " nest Men ! And who Valuing neither the Deities
 " nor Man , hast Abus'd Both by thy * Perjury
 " and Perfidiousness ! And since Thou art Such a
 " one, I wou'd have Thee Retain thy Arms , and
 " Go on with thy Design ; And not by Spin-
 " ning the Matter out keep Us in Suspence ,
 " Uneasy Thy self. Neither the Provinces , Nor
 " the Constitution , Nor our Houshold Gods can
 " bear Thy Continuing a Member of the Republick
 " any longer. Proceed in the Measures Thou hast
 " made Choice of, that with all speed Thou may'st
 " meet with Thy Deserts. For You , O Fathers !
 " How long do You intend to Encounter Arms
 " with Nothing but Words ? How long by an
 " Unaccountable Dallying to let the Common-
 " wealth be in Jeopardy ? Militia's are Rais'd and
 " Muster'd against You ; Money's Extorted from
 " the Publick and Others ; Garisons clap't in Your
 " Strong Places ; And Your Laws Subjected to the
 " Will of Your Enemy : While You in the Interim
 " sit Debating , and only Depute Commissioners
 " to Treat with him. But Assure Your selves That
 " the Earnester You are in Suing for Peace, the Far-
 " ther He'll be from it , Finding Your Cowardice
 " like to Support him better than the Justice of his
 " own Cause. They among You that Declaim

* Having upon Nulling the Acts of Sylla, much against the Mind of
 the Senate , Sworn to Them that He wou'd never make War against
 his Countrey with the Army They entrusted to him.

" against

“against War, as Averse to the Shedding of
“*Roman* Blood, and therefore Advise You to sit
“still at the same time that *Lepidus* is in Arms;
“Are for having You, Not to Do, but to Suffer,
“and to Endure That as a Vanquish'd Side, which
“it is in Your Power to Impose on Your Adver-
“saries: And perswade *You* to lye Hand-bound in
“Peace, while the Other's at Liberty to Destroy
“with War. If These Things are Relishing to
“You; and such a Stupidity is Come upon Your
“Minds, that Forgetting the late Villanies of *Cin-*
“*na*, by Admitting of Whom into Your City E-
“very Thing was turn'd into Outrage and Disor-
“der, You will nevertheless Give up Your selves
“with Your Wives and Children into *Lepidus*'s
“Hands; what need We stand Forming Resolu-
“tions? What need We look to *Catulus* for Assi-
“stance? In vain is *He* or any of our Patriots
“Zealous for Your Safety, if You won't Concur
“with 'em. Do as You please: Apply for Pro-
“tection to *Cethegus* and such other Traytors, who
“Long to Renew their Ravages and Burnings, and
“again to Insult the Gods of their Countrey. But
“if You're for Liberty, and will Arm in its De-
“fence, Take Resolutions worthy of the Cause,
“and Enlarge the Power in the Hands of Your
“Patriots. You have at Your Devotion the
“New Army, † Colonies of Veteranes, All the
“Nobility, together with the most Skilful Com-
“manders; And Fortune Succeeds the Best Men.
“In fine, The Force that Your Enemy has Ga-
“ther'd by Your Remissness will Scatter on Your
“Appearing. I Move then that, as *Lepidus* is

† Meaning the Old Soldiers of Sylla.

“ Advancing without, nay against Your Authority,
 “ with an Army of Ruffians up to Your Gates, Ap-
 “ pius *Claudius* as † King for the Occasion, with Q.
 “ *Catulus* Pro-Consul, and the Others in Power,
 “ be appointed to take Care of the City, and to
 “ Guard the Republick from All Danger.

Out of the Second Book These.

A *Ligurian* Woman whose Name was * *Corsa*, Ob-
 serving that a Bull out of the Herd which
 She look'd after by the Sea-side, wou'd now and then
 swim over to the Opposite Shore, and after some
 Stay, come Home with a Belly full strutting out;
 was Desirous to find out the Unknown Pasture:
 And Watching the Bull next time he went, follow'd
 after him in a Shallop to the Island. Upon whose
 Return, the *Ligurians* being told of the Extraordi-
 nary Fruitfulness of the Place, They Sail'd over to
 it, and Call'd the Island by the Name of the Wo-
 man that Discover'd and Led 'em to it.

M † *Etellus* after a Year's Absence Returning in-
 to the Further *Spain*, was Receiv'd in
 Mighty Triumph and Pomp in the several Places He
 pass'd through: Multitudes of People of both Sexes

† *Interrex*. Who was Constituted only upon Special Occasions, To
 Supply the Room of a *Consul*.

* From the Accident mention'd in this Fragment, the Historian De-
 duces the Original of the Island of *Corsica*, as to its Name.

† This Passage among the Fragments being Useful, and in some sort
 Entire, I thought it worth the while to Translate it.

from

from all Parts Flocking to the Roads, and Crowding the Tops of Houses to See Him. And the Quæstor *C. Urbinus*, with Others, at a Supper to which They Invited him, Knowing his Temper, Exceeded All that had ever been Done by the *Romans* or other People in their Feasts: Adorning the House with Tapestries, with Ensigns, and with Gorgeous Scenes that were Fitter for a Play-House; And strewing the Floor and Every Thing round with Sprinkled Saffron, like Perfuming a Temple. Moreover, As the Image of Victory by a Rope was Let down over his Chair, with a Noise fram'd to Imitate Thunder, and plac'd the Crown of Conqueror on his Head; Incense was Offer'd as to a Deity in Presence. Instead of the plain Attire of the Gown, He was Cloath'd with a Rich Purple Robe. And the most Exquisite Dainties were Provided; To Supply which, They Ransack'd not only the whole Province, but the Parts beyond Sea; Having caus'd to be brought from *Mauritania*, a great many Sorts both of Flesh and Fowl, that were never known or heard of before. But These Things Abated his Value, Especially with the Wise and Ancienter Men, who Thought 'em too Bordering upon Regal Pride, and Unsuitable to the Plainness of the Republick.

Out of the Third Book These.

The Epistle of Cn. Pompey to the Senate.

“ **W**ere the Case so that I had Ventur'd my Life and Distinguish'd my Zeal on as many Occasions in Fighting against You and My

" Country, as I have from My Youth in Defeating
 " Your Enemies, and Securing thereby Your Safety
 " and Repose; You cou'd never, O Fathers! I
 " think, have Treated Me in a Crueller manner
 " than You Now do. For, after having Expos'd
 " Me so † Young to Wage War with the * Fiercest
 " of Enemies, You Compel Me (as much as in *yon*
 " lies) with an Army, that deserves a different U.
 " sage, to Perish with Hunger, the worst of Deaths.
 " Was it for *This* that the People of *Rome* sent out
 " their Sons into the Field? Are These the Re-
 " wards We must have for Our Wounds, and the
 " Blood We have so prodigally Shed in Your Ser-
 " vice? Tir'd with Writing and Sending Cou-
 " riers to no purpose, I have been forc'd for Sub-
 " sistence to Consume All I had of My Own;
 " Having hardly in the Space of Three Years
 " Receiv'd from You the Pay of One. What, in
 " the Name of the Gods, Do You Expect from
 " Me? Do You think Me an Exchequer, Or Capa-
 " ble of Supplying an Army without Provisions or
 " Money? I perceive I was more Forward than
 " Advis'd in the Undertaking of This War: I
 " Rais'd an Army in Forty Days time, after You
 " had given Me the Title of General; Dislodg'd
 " the Enemy from Our Frontiers and the *Alps*, and
 " push'd them even as far as *Spain*; Open'd another
 " sort of Passage than that of *Hannibal*, and more
 " Commodious; Recover'd *Gaul*, † *Laletania*, * *Iler-*
 " *getum*, and the Parts about the *Pyrenean* Moun-
 " tains; With Raw Troops and a Number Inferior,
 " stood the First Shock of the Conquering *Sertorius*;

† Scarce Thirty Years Old at that time.

* *Sertorius*.

† Said to be *Catalonia*.

* The Country I conceive about *Tarragona*.

" And

" And Winter'd not in Quarters in the Towns, or
 " so as to Consult my Own Pleasure; but in the
 " Field, Surrounded by a Furious Enemy. What
 " need I Enter into a Detail of the Battels Fought,
 " Winter Expeditions, Towns Batter'd down to the
 " Ground, or Taken in upon Voluntary Submissi-
 " ons? Things Speak more Effectually than Words.
 " The Taking the Enemy's Camp at the † *Sucro*;
 " The Engagement with 'em at the River * *Durius*;
 " The Defeating General *C. Herennius* with his Ar-
 " my, and Reducing *Valentia*, are well known to
 " You. For All which, with a singular Gratitude
 " You Repay Us, Most Honourable Fathers! with
 " Starving. I am here in the same Circumstances
 " with the Enemy: For Neither of Us have any
 " Thing to Subsist on; And Both of Us might
 " March Unoppos'd into *Italy*: Which I Warn and
 " Beseech You to Consider of Well, and not put
 " Me under a Necessity of Providing for my Self to
 " Your Disadvantage. As for All of the Hither
 " *Spain*, not in the Possession of Our Adversaries,
 " I or *Sertorius* have Devour'd it to the Bone; Ex-
 " cept only the Sea-Ports, which instead of being
 " Useful, have hitherto been a Charge to Me. *Gaul*
 " was almost Exhausted by Supplying *Metellus*'s Ar-
 " my the *Last Year*; and now by Failing Harvests
 " in *This*, is scarce able to Support it self. I
 " have spent not only my Own Substance, but
 " Worn my Credit it self Bare; And have No-
 " thing left to Depend on but *You*: Without Suc-
 " cour from Whom, I Foretel You, that the Army,
 " whether I will or no, will most assuredly March
 " from Hence, and Carry the whole War with 'em
 " into *Italy*.

† The Name of a River as well as a City; to which former I chuse to make the Matter refer: Said to be now the Xucar.

* Now the Duero.

The Harangue of Macer Licinius, the Popular Tribune, to the Commons.

“ **W**ere You Insensible, Gentlemen, of the Difference between the Privileges left You by Your Ancestors, and the Slavery *Sylla* Impos’d upon You, I wou’d be at the Pains to Open at large the Nature of Those Oppressions for which, and the several Times that the People of *Rome* Taking up Arms, Divided from the Fathers, and Obtain’d Tribunes for Defending their Rights: But I have Nothing to do but to stir You up to the Recovery of Your Liberty, which I will lead You the Way to. I know very well with what Disadvantage I, a Single Person, Unaided, and Enjoying only a Shadow of Authority, Encounter the Power of Our Nobility, and Endeavour to Frustrate their Ambitious Designs; And how much Safer the Worst of Men in a *Combination* can Carry on their Projects, than the Best Patriots can by Themselves. But, Beside the Dependance I have on You, which has made me Dismis all Fear, I Conceive it more Honourable for a Brave Man to be (even) Defeated in the Conflict for Liberty, than not to have Struggled for it at all. All the Tribunes You have hitherto had, from a Fondness to Ingratiate Themselves with the Fathers, or Corrupted by Bribes, or Prospects of Account in it, have Employ’d their Strength and Authority against You: Rather Chusing to be Traytors for Gain, than to Behave Faithfully and Get Nothing. And therefore They have All Given way to the Domination of a Few Great Ones; Who, Buoy’d up by a Military Fame, have taken upon ‘em the Disposal of the Treasury, Armies, Kingdoms, Provinces, and Every Thing,

“ Thing, and have made Themselves Strong by
“ Your Spoils: While *You* in the interim Suffer Your
“ Selves, A Multitude by an Handful, to be Deal’t
“ with like Sheep, and Fleec’d of All that was left
“ You by Your Ancestors; Except only the Liberty
“ of Chusing, Not, as formerly, Magistrates to
“ Defend You, but so many Lords to Manage You
“ at Discretion. To Them therefore do Your Tri-
“ bunes go over; And if *You’ll* Assert and Regain
“ Your Rights, You’ll find ‘em Return to You again:
“ For in Revolutions, ‘Tis but a Few have the Bra-
“ very to stand to what They had Sided with;
“ The Rest Chusing to fall in with the Tide of
“ Power, and the Uppermost Party. Can You,
“ in Case of Your being Unanimous in Maintaining
“ Your Privileges, Justly apprehend any Hurt from
“ Those who appear Afraid of You, Even while
“ You Sit still and are Tame? (Unless You will
“ think it was not out of Fear, that *C. Cotta*, a Consul
“ of the Trimming Faction, Restor’d some of the
“ Privileges of Your Tribunes.) Tho’ They had
“ the Hardiness to Fall upon *L. Sisinius*, the First
“ Man who Dar’d to appear in Defence of the
“ Tribunitial Authority; while *You* only Mutter’d
“ in private; Yet They began to Dread Your Re-
“ sentment, before *You* had the Courage to Show
“ Any. A Conduct which I cannot Sufficiently Ad-
“ mire in You. For You All Know there is Nothing
“ to be Hop’d from ‘em. You Flatter’d Your
“ Selves, that the Death of *Sylla* wou’d Break the
“ Yoke that his Wickedness had Impos’d on You:
“ But *Catulus* a Worse Tyrant Succeeded him. Af-
“ ter that, You had Trouble Enough in the Consu-
“ late of *Brutus* and *Emilius Mamerius*. Then *C.*
“ *Curio* set up Himself and Lorded it to the Ruin of
“ Your Innocent Trit’ne. And how *L. Quinctius*
“ was Oppos’d by *Lucullus*: the last Year, You were

" All Witnesses : As You are of the Uproar † and
 " Insurrection that is *now* Stirr'd up against me :
 " Which cou'd be to no manner of purpose , had
 " They any Intention of Treating You for the fu-
 " ture in a better manner, because of Your Mode-
 " ration : Besides, that in these Civil Contentions,
 " whatever Pretexts are made use of, the Aim of
 " Every One at the bottom is Only to become
 " Master of You. Other Things from a Private Re-
 " sentment , a Principle of Avarice , or from the
 " License of the Times , have been Warmly pur-
 " su'd , but Only for a Season : But One Remains,
 " which All Our Great Ones have Indeclinably Dri-
 " ven at ; and That is, To Dives *You* and Your Po-
 " sterity of the Tribunitial Authority, The Fence
 " Provided by Your Ancestors to Your Liberty.
 " Think, I beseech You , and be Sensible of This.
 " Give not Your Cowardice a Wrong Appellation ;
 " Nor Call Your Slavery by the Name of Tran-
 " quility : Which, if You put such Shams on Your
 " selves , You will not Now have the Privilege of
 " Enjoying , Nor Fare so well as You might have
 " done, in Case You had never made any Stir. A-
 " wake then, and Assure Your selves that unless You
 " Resolutely Break Your Chains, They'll Draw 'em
 " but Straiter about Your Necks ; as knowing the
 " Safer Course for 'em will be, To make *Thorough-*
 " *Work* of it in Oppressing You. What then are
 " We to Do, will You say ? Why, First as to Your
 " present Behaviour of letting Your Tongues Run
 " at Random, Hearts of Mice at the same time, and
 " no longer Concern'd for Liberty than while in the
 " Publick Place of Debate ; I wou'd have You Re-

† Referring, as some think, to the Then Insurrection of Spartacus the Gladiator.

“ form it by all means. And Next, Do not Force
 “ me to Call You to the Resolute Measures Your
 “ Forefathers Took for Obtaining the Assent of the
 “ Nobles, in Votes relating to the Good of the Pub-
 “ lic, By Allowing Patrician Magistracy to Your
 “ Tribunes. Tho’ whether You will not Willingly
 “ Endure as Many Toils for the *Defending Your*
 “ *Rights*, as *They* wou’d Oblige You to Undergo by
 “ Way of *Suffering*, must be Left to Your selves. Is
 “ it *Jove*, or some other of the Gods, You Expect
 “ shou’d Advise You in This Case? The Haughty
 “ Decrees of the Consul’s and Senators, You Au-
 “ thorize by Your Execution of ‘em: And You
 “ Ratify, Gentlemen, by Your Own Obsequious-
 “ ness All the Oppressions They put upon You.
 “ † Well, I don’t for my Own part Stir You up to
 “ Revenge Your Wrongs, but rather to Continue
 “ to keep Peace: I don’t Blow up Coals of Dis-
 “ sention, as *They* Accuse me; but Desire an End of
 “ it, By Demanding a Restitution of Your Rights,
 “ according to the Law of Nature and Nations:
 “ And if *They* will not part with them to You, I
 “ say Nothing of Arms or Insurrections: Only do
 “ not Give up Your Blood, and All that’s Valuable
 “ any longer to Them. Let ‘em Rule; Let ‘em Ma-
 “ nage the Government as They please: Let ‘em
 “ Hunt after Triumphs as They think fit: Let ‘em
 “ with their Train of Statues and Images, Carry on
 “ the War against *Mithridates*, and pursue *Sertorius*
 “ and the rest of the Exiles. But then let None of
 “ the Peril or Toil be put upon You, who have None
 “ of the Profit on’t; Unless You think They have

† ’Twas without doubt the Stirring up the People to take Arms, that
 was chiefly Aim’d at by This Speech; Only the Tribune did not Care to
 Open himself too plainly in the Case.

well

“ well enough paid You for All Your Services by
“ the late Law made Unexpectedly for Distributing
“ Corn. By All Means! For thereby They wou’d
“ Purchase the Liberty of All the People of *Rome*,
“ with the Price of Five Bushels of Grain: Which
“ is no more than what is Allow’d to the very Pri-
“ soners in the Common Gaols. And as That Pit-
“ tance Keeps ’em, indeed, from utter Starving, but
“ Impairs their Strength, So it is not Sufficient for
“ the Nourishing *Your Families*: And the Poor-
“ Spirited among You will Fail even of their Hum-
“ blest Hopes and Expectations. But were the Al-
“ lowance ever so Ample, Yet since They make it
“ the Price of Your Freedom, What Stupidity wou’d
“ it be in You to Take up with it, and be Thankful
“ for a Favour at the same time that You are wrong’d
“ and prey’d upon? ’Tis the Only Way by which
“ They can Hope, or will ever Attempt to Prevail
“ against so Great a Body as *You* are. But Take
“ Heed of Their Artifices and Designs. ’Tis to
“ Compass the Latter They seem to Favour You;
“ and wou’d Drill You along till the Return of *Cn.*
“ *Pompey*: Of whom while They were under any
“ Dread, They Bore him about in Triumph on
“ their Shoulders; But their Fear once Over, They
“ Calumniate him. Nor are These Great Asserters
“ of Liberty, as They Call Themselves, Asham’d it
“ shou’d be seen That *They*, Such a *Multitude*, must
“ have the Concurrence of One Man, before They
“ Can either Redress *Your Wrongs*, or Dare to Go
“ through with their own Tyranny. For my Own
“ part, I am satisfy’d that *Pompey*, a Young Gentle-
“ man of so much Honour, will rather Chuse to be
“ in the Head of You on the Foot of Your Own
“ Voluntary Choice of him, than to Join with *Them*
“ in Usurping over You: And that He’d be One of
“ the First Men to Re-establish the Power of the
“ Tri-

" Tribunes. Time was, that the Interests of *All*
 " were not at the Pleasure (Only) of *One*; but the
 " Cause, My Countrymen! of Individuals was
 " Lodg'd in a Number of Persons Governing: Nor
 " Cou'd Any One Single Man *Then* pretend to Bestow
 " upon You, or to Take away from You Liberty
 " and Property. But I have said Enough; For 'tis
 " not because You are Ignorant of Your Rights,
 " that You are thus Bereft of 'em. But I know not
 " what Stupidity has possess'd You, Who are Mov'd
 " neither by Glory nor Resentment, And who have
 " Chang'd and Inverted Every Thing by Your
 " Cowardice; Believing You Enjoy an Abundant
 " Liberty, because You have not the Whip upon
 " Your Backs, and are Suffer'd to Walk This way,
 " and That, by the Bounty or Leave of Your
 " Wealthy Masters. But Your Friends in the Coun-
 " try have no Share even of *This* Favour; being
 " Ground to Pieces amidst the Quarrels of their
 " Powerful Neighbours, and sent as Presents to the
 " Magistrates of the Provinces. Thus do a *Few*
 " Great Ones Contend: And as to the Victory, who-
 " ever Gets it, The People is Sure to be made a Prey
 " of; And will be every Day more so, Unless
 " You're as Zealous to Recover Your Liberty, as
 " They are to Retain You in Slavery.

Out of the Fourth Book This.

An Epistle Writ by Mithridates to Arfaces.

" **K**ing Mithridates to King Arfaces Greeting.
 " All They who in Flourishing Circumstan-
 " ces are invited into a Confederacy in War, shou'd
 " Con-

“ Consider, First, Whether it be in their Power or
“ not, to Remain in Peace: And Next, Whether the
“ War that’s propos’d be a Just, a Safe, and an Ho-
“ nourable One; or the Contrary. The Peace that
“ You Enjoy shou’d be Continued, if You had not
“ Enemies, as the Wickedest in the World, so at
“ This Juncture a Ready Prey for You. Strike but
“ in and Subdue the *Romans*, and You will certainly
“ Gain an Immortal Fame. I wou’d not have the
“ Assurance to Sollicit You to Enter into an Alli-
“ ance with Me, Nor Desire to Mingle *My* Ill For-
“ tunes with *Your* Prosperity, without some Advan-
“ tage to You. But the Things that look at first
“ Sight like Motives to keep You from Intermeddling,
“ Such as the Pique against *Tigranes* upon Account
“ of the Late War, and the Evil Condition of *My*
“ Affairs, will (if You weigh Matters but Duly)
“ be the Greatest Incentives to You to Join with
“ Me. *Tigranes* will doubtless in the Circumstance
“ He is in, Readily Agree to whatever Terms of
“ Friendship You shall think fit to prescribe: And
“ as for my self, my Calamities and Experience
“ have Enabled me to give wholsome Advices: And
“ I Hold forth in my own Misfortunes an Instance
“ of Use, to Instruct Those who are now Flourish-
“ ing, What are the Measures They must Necessarily
“ Take to Secure Themselves. For the *Romans* have
“ had, and will always have One and the Same Con-
“ stant Cause of Warring with all Princes and Nati-
“ ons, *An Insatiable Thirst after Wealth and Empire*.
“ Twas This that Led ’em to make War against Phi-
“ lip King of *Macedonia*. While They were press’d
“ by the *Carthaginians*, pretending great Kindness
“ for *Antiochus*, and making a Sham Grant to him
“ of *Asia*, They Cunningly Diverted him from Suc-
“ couring the *Macedonian*. But after They had O-
“ vercome *Philip*, Attacking the same *Antiochus*,
“ They

" They stripp'd him of All the Country on this side
 " *Taurus*, and squeez'd out of him Ten Thousand
 " Talents. In the next place They fell upon *Perseus*
 " the Son of *Philip*; who Retiring for Sanctuary,
 " after he had Fought 'em several times with various
 " Success, to the Gods of *Samos*, These Devisers of
 " Treachery drew him into a Surrender of himself
 " upon Articles; By which because They had grant-
 " ed him his Life, They afterwards thought fit to
 " Kill him by the Odious Contrivance of Hindring
 " him from † Sleep. *Eumenes* himself, upon whose
 " Alliance They now pretend to set such a Value,
 " was once Deliver'd up by 'em to *Antiochus*, as the
 " Price of the Peace Treating between Them.
 " Then, for *Attalus*, who was Substituted (only) a
 " Keeper for *Them* of a Conquer'd Country, Of a
 " King They made him the worst of Slaves, by the
 " high Taxations and Affronts that They put on
 " him: Besides, Having Forg'd a Will in his Name,
 " They Led * his Son *Aristonicus* in Triumph, like
 " an Enemy, for Aiming at his Father's Kingdom.
 " *Asia* is Block'd up and Besieg'd by 'em: And in
 " Fine, They seiz'd upon all *Bithinia* as soon as
 " *Nicomedes* was dead; Tho' there was certainly
 " a Son of *Nusa*'s, to Whom They had Given the
 " Title of Queen, Then Alive to Succeed him in
 " the Throne. Need I to say any thing of My
 " Self? With Whom, tho' Distanc'd from the
 " Bounds of Their Empire by Kingdoms and Te-
 " trarchies on every side, Yet because Reported
 " to Them to be Rich, and Resolv'd against Sla-

† 'Tis said, that having Offended his Keepers in the Prison at Rome,
 They hinder'd him from Sleeping.

* Some make him not to have been the Son of *Attalus*, or at most but
 an Illegitimate one.

" very , They sought a Quarrel by setting *Nicomedes* upon Me , Not Ignorant of Their Ravenous Designts, and having Declar'd openly before what has since happen'd in Fact, That the *Cretans* Themselves , The only People Then in the World truly Free, and King *Ptolemy*, wou'd have the same Fate. I Reveng'd the Wrong done to My self, by Driving *Nicomedes* out of *Bitinia*; I Recover'd back the Part of *Asia*, of which I told You *Antiochus* had been Robb'd ; and I Took off from the Neck of *Greece* the Yoke of Servitude They had put upon it. 'Twas the worst of Slaves, *Archelaus*'s Baseness in betraying my Army, that prevented my Progress. And They who were kept from taking up Arms by the Cowardice of their Minds, or a Wretched Policy of Thinking to Reap the Fruit of *My* Efforts, without Joining any of their *Own*, Pay severely for their Scandalous Conduct. 'Tis with Vast Sums that *Ptolemy* purchases the Delay (only) of their Falling upon him. And the *Cretans*, who have been already Attack'd, will never see an End of the War, before their Entire Conquest and Ruin. As for My self, when I saw their Drift , That without Entring into Terms of Peace with me, They only Deferr'd further Contending with me because of Their Own Troubles at Home ; I went Contrary to the Opinion of *Tigranes*, who now too late confesses me in the Right ; and upon the Foot of my Own Strength, You being Remote, and All Others Submitting to Them, Renew'd the War : And, first, I Gave to *Marcus Cotta* Their General an Overthrow by Land at † *Chalcedon*. And

† said to be now *Scutari*, near Constantinople.

" in

" in the next place I Beat 'em at Sea, and Despoil'd
 " 'em of a Goodly Fleet of Ships. But Investing
 " * *Cyzicum* with a Numerous Army, and the Siege
 " happening to prove long, Provisions fail'd me,
 " No body assisted me, And the Winter hinder'd my
 " Keeping the Seas. So that, without the Enemy's
 " † Forcing me, I was fain to Draw off from the
 " Place ; and in my Return to my Own Kingdom,
 " Lost the Flower of my Men and Navy by Storms
 " and Shipwreck at * *Para* and ∵ *Heraclea*. But Re-
 " cruiting my Army afterwards at * *Cabira*, I main-
 " tain'd by several Battels with *Lucullus* a Doubtful
 " War of it, till we Both came at length to a Scar-
 " city of Provisions and Subsistence : To Supply
 " which, He had the † Kingdom of *Ariobarzanes*
 " (Untouch'd) to Refort to ; And I, having laid
 " waste the Country all about, Retir'd to *Armenia* :
 " The *Romans* pursuing, Not me, but, Their *Custom*
 " of Ravaging All Countries : And because we
 " were Got in a Narrow Corner that hindred a Great
 " Army's Engaging, and Suffer'd by the Ill Con-
 " duct of *Tigranes*, They Boast of the mighty Merit
 " of their Arms. But pray Consider, Whether in
 " Case You look on and let *Us* be Crush'd, You'll
 " be Stronger thereby *Your Self* to Resist 'em ? Or
 " whether Our Fall will Finish the War ? I know

* A City and Island or Peninsula in Propontis.

† Contrary to *History*, which says that Mithridates was Beaten off with great Slaughter. But the Busness of this Epistle was to put the best Face he cou'd upon Matters.

* A Sea Town about the Hellespont or Euxine Sea.

∴ A City of Bithinia towards Pontus Euxinus, and said to be now call'd Penderachi.

* Once the Residence of Mithridates, but no Footstep left of it now.

† Cappadocia,

“ You

" You to be very Powerful and Opulent in Men,
 " Money, and Military Munitions: And 'tis there-
 " fore We Court You for an Ally, and *They* have
 " their Eye upon You for a Prey. Nevertheless 'tis
 " the Judgment of *Tigranes*, That *Your Territories*
 " being yet Untouch'd, and *My* Soldiers Experienc'd
 " in Arms, We may Easily enough put an End to
 " a War with an Enemy, so Distant from Home,
 " by the Hands (only) of Our Own Men: In as
 " much as *We* can neither Vanquish, nor be Van-
 " quish'd, without *Your* Receiving some Prejudice.
 " Are You ignorant that the *Romans*, after having
 " Ravag'd as far *West* as the † *Ocean* wou'd permit
 " 'em, are Come Hither on the same Design? That
 " They never had from the very Beginning House or
 " Land, Wives or Country, Government, or in
 " short, Any Thing but by Rapine? That They
 " Came together a Parcel of Vagabonds, without
 " any Home, or Parents that They knew of, and
 " Sprung up to be a Plague to the World? That no
 " Laws, either Human or Divine, are able to keep
 " 'em within Bounds; But They Prey even upon
 " their Friends and Allies, Ransack their Neigh-
 " bours and Remote Foreigners, and Over-run both
 " the Wealthy and the Poor: Pursuing as Enemies
 " All Nations that are not *Their* Vassals, but especi-
 " ally Monarchies? Now the Popular Governments
 " of the World are Few, *Most* Affecting a Just
 " King; Upon which Account They take Umbrage
 " at *Us*, as like to be their Rivals in Power, and
 " Avengers of the Cause of Mankind. For *You*,
 " Sir, who have such a City as * *Seleucia*, One of

† Meaning the Atlantick that washes Spain.

* Suppos'd to be often Confounded by Ancient Writers with Babylon, as standing near it, towards the Banks of the Tigris; and having Drawn to it self the Riches and Strength of Babylon. Bagdat is thought to have been built in the same Place, or very near, where this Seleucia stood.

" the

“ the Greatest in the Universe, and are Lord of
“ *Perſia* ſo Celebrated for Riches; What can You
“ Expect from 'em but Deceit in Lulling You
“ Asleep, perhaps, for a while, but Attacking
“ You afterwards with a Sharp War? The *Ro-*
“ *mans* have One with All Princes: But the *moſt*
“ *Vigorous* against Such as They think will Afford
“ 'em the Ampleſt Spoils. 'Tis by Tricking, By
“ Daring, By Multiplying Wars One upon Ano-
“ ther, They are Grown ſo Powerful. And by
“ ſuch Methods They mean to Go on to Sub-
“ due Every Thing, or to Periſh Themselves. And
“ the Latter won't be Difficult to Effect, If You
“ with an Army from *Mesopotamia*, and We from
“ *Armenia* Surround Their's, Labouring under a
“ Want of Provisions, and not Capable of any
“ Aſſiſtance. 'Tis only to *Our* Default and Fol-
“ ly, Their Good Fortune has hitherto been Ow-
“ ing. You will have the Glory of Succouring at
“ once Two of the moſt Considerable Princes,
“ and Degrading the Robbers of Mankind: Which
“ I Warn, I Conjure You to Apply Your ſelf to,
“ without Preferring the Ruin of *Us*, and the Sa-
“ ving Your ſelf to be Devour'd Last, to the
“ Joyning with *Us* and becoming a Conque-
“ ror.

Q

Out

Out of another Book of the Histories (but
which of 'em is Uncertain) This.

*The Harangue of † C. Cotta the Consul to the
People.*

“ **M**any, My Countreymen, have been the
“ Dangers, and Various the Difficulties I have
“ met withal, both at Home and Abroad, and in
“ Peace and War. Some of These I have found
“ my self Oblig'd to yield to in a way of Patience,
“ and Others, again, by the Help of the Gods, and
“ my own Virtue, I have Plainly Subdu'd: In all
“ which I can say that I never wanted a Spirit for
“ the Business before me, Nor Industry to Prosecute
“ any Thing I had Resolv'd on. The Ill Success or
“ Prosperity of my Matters might Alter my Cir-
“ cumstances, but never my Mind. But in These
“ Disasters that have lately Befall'n me, Every
“ Thing, I think, has Forsaken me with my For-
“ tune: And Old Age, that is a Burden of it self,
“ still Doubles my Afflictions upon me; Who have
“ not in this Decrepit Condition, the Liberty even of
“ Dying with Honour. If I prove a Parricide to
“ You, and after a Second * Birth-Day indulg'd me,

† 'Tis likely that it ought not to be written [Cn.] but [Marcus] Cotta; because he is suppos'd to be the same Person that was Overthrown at Chalcedon by Mithridates, (and He was Marcus Aurelius Cotta) and that This Speech was Calculated for Mitigating the Displeasure of the People against him, for That as well as other Ill Successes.

* By This Title He calls his Reception into the City, and his Investiture with Magistracy, after his Great Defeat by Mithridates. And perhaps He stiles it his [Second] Birth-Day, because he had once before been Restor'd, as it were from Exile, upon Sylla's Quelling Marius's Faction.

“ Slight

" Slight the Care of my Country's Welfare , and
 " the High Authority wherewith You have Honour'd
 " Me ; What Torture can be Enough for Me, Li-
 " ving , and what Punishment after my Decease ?
 " A Greater undoubtedly wou'd the Wickedness
 " Call for, than All that is Told us to be Suffer'd in
 " Hell. From my Youth, Your Eyes were ever up-
 " on Me, whether in a Private or Publick Station.
 " You had my Advice , my Purse and my Tongue,
 " All at your Service when You thought fit: Nor
 " did I Employ any Eloquence of mine in Bad Cau-
 " ses, or to Mischievous Purposes. While I was En-
 " deavouring to Raise my self Friends, I contracted
 " Enemies for Adhering to the Publick : But when
 " I had Fall'n, and † That with Me , and None be-
 " ing at Hand to Assist Me , I look'd for a Ruin Yet
 " more Compleat ; You Restor'd Me , Gentlemen,
 " to my Country and Gods , and Bestow'd * This
 " Highest Dignity upon Me. For which Favours,
 " I shou'd not think my self Grateful enough , tho'
 " for Every One of 'em I should Give (as I cannot)
 " a Life in Return. For tho' *meirly* to Live or to Dye
 " be in Every Man's own Power, Yet to Pass a Life
 " without any Censure, and Go off Untouch'd both
 " in Fame and Fortune , must be Owing to the
 " Generous Kindness of One's Country. You have
 " Made Me a Consul , my Worthy Countrymen,
 " at a Time that the Commonwealth is Embarrass'd
 " very much, both at Home and Abroad. The Ge-
 " nerals in *Spain* Require a Supply of Men, Money,
 " Ammunition and Corn ; And indeed 'tis Necessity
 " Moves 'em to it : For since Our Allies Revolted
 " from Us , and *Sertorius* Retir'd among the Moun-

† *The Common-Wealth.*

* *The Consulate.*

" tains, They can neither Come to an Action with
 " the Enemy, nor Furnish Themselves with the Ne-
 " cessaries They want: The Excessive Power of
 " *Mithridates*, Forces Us to Maintain Armies in *A-
 sia* and *Cilicia*. As for *Macedon*, 'tis Crowded with
 " Enemies: Nor are the * Maritime Coasts of *Italy*,
 " and of the Provinces less infested. In the interim
 " Our Revenues being but small, and by reason of
 " the Wars Uncertainly paid, hardly Defray a Part
 " of our Expence. So that We are Forc'd to Sail
 " with a Fleet Less in Number than the Transport-
 " Vessels which We us'd to have for Carrying Provi-
 " sions. If This be Owing to Treachery or Negli-
 " gence, Detect and Avenge it as You see Cause:
 " But if to a General Misfortune that We are under,
 " Why shou'd You Run into Things Unseemly for
 " *Your selves*, for *Me*, and for the *Common-Wealth*?
 " For my Own part, who am hast'ning to the Grave,
 " I desire to Live not a Minute longer, if It will be
 " of any Difservice to *You*: And perswade My self,
 " That the † Body of a *Roman* cannot do it self more
 " Honour, than by being a Victim to *Your Welfare*.
 " I am here Ready, Your Consul *C. Cotta*: Ready to
 " Act the same Part that Our Ancestors have Done
 " in Publick Distresses: I Devote my self a Sacrifice
 " for the State; But Beware whom You Deliver Her
 " to. For it won't be so Easy to find a Man of
 " Real Worth that will Accept Such an Honour,
 " as makes him Responsible for the Happy Event
 " of All Affairs of Peace and War, Transacted not
 " only by Himself, but by Others; Or else Liable to
 " a Death of Disgrace. Only Remember, that it
 " was not for Avarice, or any Thing Criminal, I

* *By the Pyrates.*

† *Ingenuo Corpori, &c.*

" was

“ was Cut off, but that I Surrender’d my Life for
 “ You Voluntarily, Out of Regard to the Favours
 “ You had done me. I Beseech You most earnest-
 “ ly by your Own Persons, I Conjure You, my
 “ Friends, by the Glory of your Ancestors, Con-
 “ sult the Interest of the Common-Wealth, and be
 “ Patient a while under Adversity. Government is
 “ Attended with a Multitude of Cares, and a great
 “ many Toyls are to be Undergone in it: Such as
 “ You can’t be Dispenc’d from, and Expect to Re-
 “ cover the Blessings of Peace; Since All Provinces,
 “ Kingdoms and Countries, Nay, The Seas are at
 “ present Embroil’d in War.

Two † Epistles from *Sallust* to *C. Cæsar*,
 Concerning the Modelling of the Com-
 mon-Wealth.

*E P I S T L E * I.*

“ **I**T pass’d for Currant a long time, That King-
 “ doms and Empires, and the Other Things that
 “ are so Desir’d by Mankind, were All Owing to
 “ the Gift of Fortune, and Bestow’d according to
 “ Her own Caprice; In regard They were often-

† *The Title of Orations commonly given to these Pieces is undoubtedly wrong; it appearing afterwards by our Author himself, that they were, Not Spoken, but, Written.*

* *Tho’ there is great Reason to believe that This was really the latter of the Two, Yet I wou’d not disturb it in the Place that all the Editions have hitherto given it.*

“ times Observ'd to Fall to the Share of the least
“ Deserving , and seldom too to Remain long, or
“ without a very Sensible Impair, in the Hands of
“ any One whatsoever. But many Examples have
“ prov'd the Saying of *Appius* in his Verses to be
“ No Mistake, *That Every Man is the Architect of his*
“ *Own Fortune*. But the most Visible Instance is
“ Your Self: Who have so far Transcended the
“ Rest of Human Kind , that the Breath of Men
“ sooner Fails in Only Crying up Your Mighty
“ Deeds, than *Your Virtue* do's in Performing Them.
“ But the Empires Rais'd by Heroick Virtue , like
“ other Architecture, must be Kept up by the same
“ Industry whereby They were Founded ; and not
“ Suffer'd through want of Care to Fall to Pieces
“ or any way Decay. For it is not Matter of
“ Choice in any Man, to be Subject to the Will and
“ Power of Another. And tho' he who is possess'd
“ of Dominion be ever so Just and Moderate in the
“ Administration of it ; Yet while he has it in his
“ Power to be otherwise , He's always Dreaded by
“ Mankind : The more, because it happens in Fact,
“ That the Greatest Part of the Monarchs of the
“ World Fall into Corrupt Measures ; and Think to
“ Settle Their Thrones the Surer, By making Their
“ People Debauch'd and Weak. But *Your Design*,
“ Sir , shou'd be the Contrary ; And being Brave
“ and Virtuous Your Self, You shou'd Aim to Rule
“ over None but Such. For the Vicious Fellow
“ in All Governments is ever the most Seditious
“ One. I Allow it a Harder Matter for *You* , than
“ it was for Any who have Gone before You , to
“ Establish Well what Your Sword has Won. The
“ War *You Wag'd* was a Milder Thing than the
“ Very Times of Peace under Some. But Your
“ Conquering Army on the one Hand Looks Now
“ to be Gratify'd with Plunder : And Then the
“ Van-

“ Vanquish’d on the other side are no Other than
“ Your Own Countrymen. Of These Difficulties
“ You will Clear Your self by a Middle Conduct
“ towards Each, and by Maintaining the Empire
“ from Henceforth, Not so much by the Force of
“ Arms to Bridle all Malecontents at Home, or to
“ Oppose even a Foreign Enemy; as by what is
“ Harder, but much more Noble, *By the Legal and*
“ *Laudable Arts of Peace.* But This is a Matter of
“ such Importance, as Calls not only on the Great-
“ est Wits, but on all Persons that know any Thing,
“ To Bring in the Best Counsel They are Able.
“ For upon the Use You make of Your Success,
“ and the Foot that You Now Settle Matters, De-
“ pends, according to my Opinion, The Future
“ State of the Common-Wealth. And to make This
“ Settlement the Happier, Accept, Sir, of the Few
“ Things that have Occurr’d to my Thoughts.
“ You Wag’d a War, most Illustrious *Cæsar*, with a
“ Man of Fame, and of Vast Riches, Ambitious of
“ Power, and more Fortunate than Wise. The
“ Faction of the Few, Some as Your Enemies on a
“ Pique taken up by Themselves, and the Rest upon
“ the Account of Kindred or other Obligations to
“ Pompey, became of his Party, and Fought under
“ him: I say Under Him, Because his Pride wou’d
“ never Admit a Partner in Power: Which if it had
“ done, the World wou’d not have been so much
“ Disturb’d as it has. And the Common People
“ more from Example than any Understanding of
“ the Cause, Flock’d in One after Another, and
“ Follow’d the Foregoing Leader as the Wiser. At
“ the same time, upon a Report that was Spread
“ abroad by Malicious People, That *You* had a *De-*
“ *sign* against the Republick; Divers Lewd and Pro-
“ fligate Persons, Led by the Hopes of Sharing in
“ the Spoil, Resorted to Your Camp, and openly

“ Threatned even such as did not meddle in the War
“ with Nothing les than Plunder and Death , and
“ the worst of Outrages their Wickedness cou’d
“ prompt to. But the greatest Part of ‘em, when
“ They found that You wou’d neither Protect ‘em
“ against their Creditors , Nor Use Your Fellow-
“ Citizens like Enemies , dropp’d away from You :
“ But a Few stay’d, To be Eas’d of the Persecution
“ of Dunnis ; with Whom, being up to the Ears in
“ Debt, They well knew They shou’d be Plagu’d at
“ Rome. And it wou’d be a Thing Incredible, to tell
“ what Mighty Numbers , and of what Quality,
“ went afterwards on the like Account in to Pompey ;
“ Whom almost all the Debtors made use of, as long
“ as ever the War lasted, as a Sure Sanctuary against
“ their Creditors. Now since the Business of War
“ and Peace, To put an End to the One with Cle-
“ mency , and to Establish the Other on a Lasting
“ Foot, is to be Determin’d by You the Conqueror ;
“ Consult, in the first place, Sir, *Your self* (For it is
“ by *You* the Thing must be Done) what will be
“ the Best Measures to Take. For my Own part, I
“ am of Opinion, That no Tyrannick or Cruel Go-
“ vernments can Expect to have any long Duration.
“ Nor is Any Monarch so Fear’d by his People, but
“ at the same time He Fears Them as much. And
“ what is such a Life, but the Waging an Everlasting
“ and Dubious War ? For being Safe neither Be-
“ hind nor Before, nor on either Side , He has no
“ Peace , but is under the Torment of Continual
“ Dread. On the Contrary, Where the Prince hath
“ been Mild, and has Temper’d his Sovereignty with
“ Moderation, All his Affairs have Run Smooth, a
“ perpetual Smile has Dwelt on his Reign, and He
“ has stood on Better Terms even with an Enemy,
“ than Others have done with Their Own Subjects.
“ Will Any One have the Face to say , That I go

“ about

“ about by such Hints as these to Baulk the Advan-
“ tages which Your Sword has Gain’d Ye ; or that
“ I’m too well Affected to the Vanquish’d ? Yes, by
“ all means it is so ; because I put in for Allowing
“ the same Treatment to Fellow-Citizens, that both
“ We and Our Forefathers have us’d to Give to
“ Alien Nations and Profess’d Enemies ; And De-
“ clare against the Barbarous Practice of Expiating
“ Blood by Perpetual Slaughters. Is the Memory
“ Yet Effac’d of the Things that were so Condemn’d
“ in *Sylla* and *Cn. Pompey* ? When *Domitius*, *Carbo*,
“ *Brutus* and Others were Slain ; Not in the Heat
“ of Battel, as They might have been by the Laws
“ of War, but Murder’d most Villanously after it
“ was over, and They had Laid down Their Arms
“ and Desir’d Quarter ? When Several Thousands
“ of the *Roman* Commons were Butcher’d like Sheep
“ in the Publick Villa ? Heavens ! What Private
“ Slaughtering too, and what Unexpected Mass-
“ cres were Committed ! What a Plundering of
“ Houses was there ; and what Frightful Running
“ of Women and Children into the Arms of Hus-
“ bands and Fathers, to Save Themselves from the
“ Rage of the Sword ! In a Word, In All the past
“ Revolutions before This, which You, Sir, have
“ Wrought, there was Nothing else but Outrage
“ and Blood. And the same Men that Acted in
“ That, wou’d fain Excite You Now to the Like ;
“ Telling You, ’Twas the very End of the War, To
“ Decide whether *Pompey* or *You* shou’d Go off with
“ the Prize of Arbitrary Power : That You are not
“ therefore to Treat *Rome* as a Commonwealth Re-
“ cover’d from Slavery, but as a Conquer’d Thing,
“ and the Victor’s Prey : And that it was upon this
“ Foundation, that the Bravest of the Army, and
“ the Oldest of the Veteranes, after having Con-
“ sum’d their Pay, Fought One Brother against A-
“ nother,

“ nother, and Father against Son, and Son against
“ Father ; With the Wise Intention (without doubt)
“ that a Pack of Villains shou’d Reap the Profit of
“ Their Toils, to Maintain Debauchery ; and shou’d
“ Blemish Their Victories, and Disparage the Credit
“ of Men of Honour, by Their being Joyn’d with
“ ’em. You will not think me, Sir, too Satirical,
“ For I can’t suppose You are Unacquainted with
“ the Morals and Temperance of These Men, even
“ while the Success was as yet Doubtful : And how
“ Some of ’em cou’d not Refrain in the very Field
“ from Feasting and Whores, and such Licentious-
“ ness as Their Years cou’d ne’re have been Seen in
“ without Scandal, in a Time even of Profound
“ Peace. But I have said enough of Sheathing the
“ Sword ; and Come now to the Head of Peace,
“ The Great Thing which You and Your Friends
“ are Consulting in what manner to Settle. And
“ First, Be pleas’d to Consider Throughly the Na-
“ ture of the Business You are Now upon ; Where-
“ in, By Distinguishing Right and Wrong from Each
“ other, You will easily See which are the Best
“ Measures to be pitch’d on. I am then of Opinion,
“ Since All Things which have had a Beginning,
“ must also End ; That whenever the Fatal Time
“ Comes that the Empire of *Rome* must be Over-
“ thrown, ’Twill be brought about by a Civil War ;
“ wherein *Romans* shall Engage against *Romans*, and
“ after Exhausting their Blood and Vigor, Become
“ a Prey to some Foreign Potentate. Without *This*,
“ Not the whole Race of Mankind, tho’ Confede-
“ rated for the Purpose, can pretend to Hurt it.
“ Now to Obviate *This*, You must take Care by all
“ Means to prevent Divisions, and to Maintain
“ a Union among the Citizens. The Way to which
“ will be, to Suppress the Two Vices of Profuseness
“ and

" and Rapine. Not by Reviving * Old Laws which
 " an Age so long Corrupted wou'd Spurn at, but By
 " making Every One Keep within the Bounds of
 " his Fortune in spending. For 'tis Now a Common
 " Practice with the Youth to Deny their Vicious Ap-
 " petites Nothing, to be as Lavish to Every Rascal
 " that Hangs on 'em, and to squander away their
 " Own Substance and as much of Others as They
 " Can possibly Come at. This is Gallantry and
 " Greatness of Mind with 'em: But as for the Vir-
 " tues of Modesty and Temperance, they Re-
 " gard them as Properties of a Sneaking Fellow.
 " Now when One entred in such Courses, and
 " withal of Fierce and Impetuous Nature comes to
 " Feel the Want of that Fund from whence he us'd
 " to supply his Riot, He grows a Madman, and falls
 " to Preying both upon Fellow Citizens and Allies;
 " is for Overthrowing the Present Government how
 " well soever the same is settled, and for cutting out
 " a New Fortune at any Rate to Repair the Old One.
 " To provide against which Evils, see that there be
 " No † Usurers for the Future, That All may look
 " to their Own Affairs. The Only Way to Preserve
 " the Publick, is for Magistrates to serve the People
 " in general, and not the little Ends of a Creditor;
 " and to Build their Reputation and Greatness not
 " upon Taking from the Commonwealth, but on
 " Adding All that they Can to it. I know very well
 " what a Bitter Pill the Reform I speak for wou'd be
 " at First: And to those especially who by being

* Meaning, I suppose, the Sumptuary Laws, which Confin'd the Ro-
 mans to such and such a Proportion in Spending, and which were gone
 into Desuetude and Contempt, by Reason of the great Corruption of the
 Age.

† By this Our Author seems to have desir'd that the Wealth of the
 Romans shou'd depend on the Ancient Foot of Lands and Agriculture.

“ Conquerors Expected to have more License than
“ Ever, and not to be under a Stricter Discipline.
“ But the Way to Establish both Them and Us and
“ all our Allies in Quiet, will be to Consult their
“ Interest and not their Lusts. On the Contrary,
“ if You suffer the Youth to Go on in the Path
“ They are Now in, the State of *Rome* and Your
“ Own Honour will soon Come to the Ground to-
“ gether. Let me add in Fine, That Wise Men En-
“ gage in Wars, and Endure Fatigue for the sake on-
“ ly of an After-Peace. And if You secure not
“ That End, what Matters it whether You had been
“ the Victor or the Vanquish'd ? In the Name then
“ of th' Immortal Gods Arise and Take Our Govern-
“ ment in Hand, and break through All the Oppo-
“ sing Difficulties with the Resolution You Use to
“ show. For You Are the Man that must Heal Our
“ Wounds, Or They must for Ever Remain Uncur'd.
“ Nor To do This Are You Call'd upon for Severe
“ Sentences and Bloody Executions, which rather
“ Wast than Reform a State ; but a more Merciful
“ and Effectual Way, *The Keeping the Roman Youth*
“ *from Debauchery*. And it will be True Clemency
“ Indeed to Remove the *Occasions* of Banishment from
“ the Citizens, To Rescue them from their Follies
“ and False Pleasures, and to Establish Peace and
“ Concord together ; Whereas a Toleration of Cor-
“ ruptions and Conniving at Vice wou'd be found
“ Cruelty, by allowing 'em only some present Plea-
“ sure to be quickly follow'd with Lasting Evils. As
“ for the Thing that makes Others Doubt of Success
“ and, perhaps, Despond, I mean *the Greatness of the*
“ *Undertaking*, It Gives *My Mind* but the More Af-
“ surance ; And though both Sea and Land, nay the
“ Universe (for less than That is below *Your Genius*)
“ Are the Matters, Sir, You are to set in Order ; Yet
“ the More Difficulty, the More Glory. For the future
“ then,

“ then, Let the Common People, too long Corrupt-
“ ed with Gifts of Corn and Other Briberies, be Em-
“ ploy’d at Home, that they mayn’t have leisure to
“ Disturb the Publick. And suffer not the Youth to
“ Go on in a Life of Prodigality or Rapine, but Re-
“ duce ’em to a Course of Industry and Virtue. Now
“ This may be done by Taking away the Abuse and
“ the Reputation of Money, the most Pernicious of
“ All Evils. For after a great deal of Researching
“ and Considering in My Mind By What Methods
“ the Heroes of the World are become so Famous,
“ and Many Nations Attain’d such Greatness, and
“ Then How and By what Means the Mightiest Em-
“ pires have been Ruin’d too, I Found the Prospe-
“ rous and the Bad Success in Either Case to be al-
“ ways Owing to the same Good and Evil Causes :
“ And that the Victors were ever Despisers of Ri-
“ ches ; and, on the other Hand, the Vanquish’d as
“ Fond of ’em. Nor indeed is it possible for Any
“ Mortal to Advance himself from the Common
“ Level of Mankind to a Godlike Grandeur, with-
“ out Triumphing over Wealth, Slighting all the
“ Pleasures of the Body, and Taking Special Care
“ of the Mind, Not to sooth the Vanity that is in
“ it, Or To Gratify its Humour with such Things
“ as the Baser Part in him may Hanker after, But to
“ Enrich it with Generous Principles, To Train it
“ up to Fatigue and Patience, and to Put it Forward
“ to Brave Atchievements. For to set ye’ up a House
“ or a Villa, and Adorn it with Hangings, Paintings,
“ and Statues ; and in short to have Every *Fine Thing*
“ to be seen in it Except the Master, is not to have
“ Riches and Honour to *Me*, but to be, My Self, a
“ Disparagement to *Them*. Moreover, such whose
“ Custom it is to stuff their Bodies twice in a Day
“ and have every Night a Whore to Debauch with,
“ after They have Lower’d by this Means and En-
“ slav’d

" slav'd the Mind that ought to have Commanded,
 " Cannot Expect any Service from it in the Dull and
 " Infirm Condition They have brought it to ; And
 " it happens very often in Fact , that such Persons
 " Attempting any Thing lose their Projects and
 " Themselves at once for want of Understanding
 " and Spirit. But an End might be put to All These
 " and a great Many Other Inconveniences, By Les-
 " sening the Respect that is paid to Money, and
 " Providing that No Offices in the Government or
 " Other Things that Men are so Fond of, shall from
 " Henceforth be *Bought or Sold*. Furthermore, there
 " must Care be Taken to Preserve the Peace of *Italy*
 " and the Provinces : For which there need not be
 " Different Measures, Inasmuch as the same sort of
 " People carry on the same Trade there too , and
 " after Running through their Own Estates, Prey
 " upon All that are round about 'em. And Lastly,
 " see that the Busines of the Army be no longer Or-
 " der'd with Partiality, By which some have been
 " forc'd to serve the † full Number of Thirty Years,
 " while Others have either been quite Exempted or
 " Discharg'd before they had serv'd out One. And
 " the Corn that us'd to be Lavish'd away upon Idle
 " and Undeferring People, Distribute among the
 " Disbanded Veteranes throughout the Corporations
 " and Colonies when they have Finish'd their War-
 " fare, and are come Home. Thus in the Fewest
 " Words that I Cou'd Have I set before You Those
 " Things that I think are Necessary to the Publick
 " Welfare, and will also make for Your Own Honour.
 " And now I suppose it may not be Amiss to Add a
 " Word of My Own Undertaking. Most Men have
 " Capacity Enough, or pretend to have it, To Cen-
 " sure their Neighbours: And Every One is For-

† The Mischief of this was afterwards seen in the Terrible Mutiny of
 the Legions in Germany under Tiberius, mention'd by Tacitus.

“ ward and Quick to Condemn the Deeds and Say-
 “ ings of Others. The Mouth Can hardly Open too
 “ much, nor the Tongue move nimbly enough to
 “ Discover the Ill Nature of their Minds. And tho’
 “ I know for my own part that I am like to be Lash’d
 “ by it, yet I am not Concern’d at it. ’Twould have
 “ Griev’d me more to have Kept silent. For whe-
 “ ther You Go by Those Measures I have here pro-
 “ pos’d, or by some Better, I have spoke my Mind
 “ like a Patriot Boldly ; I’ve Acquitted my self by
 “ Doing my Utmost ; and have Nothing left me
 “ Now but to Wish that whatever Way You shall
 “ please to Take, the Immortal Gods May Approve
 “ and Prosper it.

EPISTLE † the Second.

“ **I** Am Very Sensible how Nice a Thing it is to
 “ Advise an Emperor or King, or any other
 “ Person whatsoever that stands possess’d of Supreme
 “ Power: Because They have Choice of Councel-
 “ lers about ’em ; Nor is it possible for any Man to
 “ have so much Sagacity and Penetration as to Fore-
 “ see All Things that May happen. Moreover, sometimes
 “ the Worse Councils Succeed better than the more
 “ Wholesome, In regard the Events of Many Affairs
 “ are Directed only by That *Humorist* Fortune.
 “ But My Inclinations, while but a Youth, Carry’d
 “ me to the Service of the Republick ; To Under-
 “ stand the Affairs of which I spent a great deal of
 “ Time and Pains : Not so much for the sake of

† This Epistle seems not only to have been the Former of the Two, as above, but is thought to have been written before Cæsar’s going into Spain, Petreius and Afranius, and while the War as yet Rag’d.

“ Get-

“ Getting a Post of Magistracy, which I knew se-
“ veral had Obtain'd as Easily by Unworthy Ways ;
“ but to Acquaint My self with the True State of
“ the Common-Wealth both at Home and Abroad,
“ and to Learn what Force She was of with respect to
“ Men, Money, and Arms. Upon Weighing which
“ and more in My Mind, I Resolv'd to Sacrifice to
“ Your Interests My Own Modesty and Reputation,
“ and to Run any Hazard whatever that might Tend
“ to the Advancing of Your Glory. Nor was This
“ Result the Effect of Rashness, or a Fond Depen-
“ dance on Your Kind Fortune to make Good what-
“ ever You shou'd Enterprize ; but Founded alone
“ upon One Great and Distinguish'd Quality I have
“ ever Observ'd in You, *That You always Appear*
“ *Boldest in Distress.* But Your Glory Surpasses That
“ of the Rest of Mankind farther, in that They soon-
“ er Fail of Breath in Only Praising Your Heroick
“ Actions than You do of Spirit in Performing such
“ Things as Demand their Praise. For My Own
“ part, I believe truly There's Nothing so Sublime
“ or Profound but Your Exerted Genius Can Compre-
“ hend it. Nor was it from too High a Conceit of
“ My Own Abilities I have Presum'd to Offer You
“ My Opinion about the Modelling of the Govern-
“ ment ; but because I thought it wou'd not be Amis
“ amidst th'Employments and Noise of War and the
“ Hurry of Battels and Victories You are in, To
“ Mind You of Settling Our Civil Concerns. For
“ in Case Your Only Aim be to Secure Your self from
“ the Violence of Your Enemies, and to Keep up an
“ Interest in the Common People To Enable You to
“ make Head against a † Consul, Suffer me to say

† Marcellus the Colleague of Æmilius ; Cæsar having, as 'tis said, already secur'd the Latter to his Interest by Money.

“ The Design’s too Mean for Cæsar’s Virtue to be
“ Satisfy’d with. But if You have still the same Spi-
“ rit that You had at Your first Appearance in the
“ World and with Which You Encounter’d the Faction
“ of the Nobles, Recover’d the *Roman* People from
“ a State of Heavy Bondage to their Ancient Liber-
“ ty, Baffled all the Arms of Your Adversaries while
“ in Your Prætorship and Unarm’d Your Self, and
“ in fine, Perform’d such Glorious Actions not only
“ at Home but in the Field too as Left Your Very Ene-
“ mies Nothing to Object against You but Your Grow-
“ ing Greatness, Accept of the Hints I shall lay before
“ You in relation to the Grand Affair of Our State,
“ and which Your Experience will prove Pertinent
“ or at least not Very far from it. For as much then
“ as Cn. Pompey from either a Sort of Infatuation of
“ Mind, or because He desir’d Nothing so much as *
“ to Cross You Err’d so Egregiously as to Put Wea-
“ pons into the Hands of his Enemies to make use of
“ against Himself, By the same Ways He Embarrass’d
“ the Publick, Must You, Sir, Restore it to its Tran-
“ quility. He Plac’d the sole Direction of the Laws,
“ of the Expences of Citizens, and of the Publick
“ Revenue in the Hands only of a Few Senators :
“ Leaving thereby the *Roman* Commonalty, in whom
“ was the Chief Power before, and † Us in Servi-
“ tude and without Justice. And tho’ the Making
“ and Administ’ring Laws hath been brought back
“ to its Original Seat, and Vested Distributively in

* Relating perhaps to the Refusal made of the Things that Cæsar insisted on and offer’d to be Contented withal before his Entring into the Civil War.

† Meaning Those of the Equestrian Order.

" the * Three Orders, Yet the same Few are still at
 " the Helm, Add or Diminish as They think fit, Ruin
 " and Prey upon Honest Men, and Advance Those
 " of Their own Faction ; No Villany or Scandal
 " whatever is a Bar sufficient to Exclude 'em the
 " Magistracy ; They Rap, and Rend, and Engross
 " to themselves Every Thing of Value they Can lay
 " their Hands upon ; In a Word, they Ravage with
 " boundless License, as if the City were a Sack'd
 " Place, and Make their Own Pleasure their Law.
 " Now it wou'd not give me half the Vexation, if
 " These Fellows, according to their Custom of Dea-
 " ling Tyrannically with All People, Us'd us like
 " Slaves as the Fruit of a Conquest obtain'd over us by
 " their Own Valour : But 'tis quite Otherwife, 'tis a
 " Pack of Cowards, Whose Bravery lies only in their
 " Tongues, that Treat us so insolently, and who
 " Exercise a Dominion Yielded 'em by Chance and
 " by the Tameness of Others. And were there ever
 " Any Dissentions, Any Civil Troubles that De-
 " stroy'd so many Illustrious Families as These ? Was
 " there ever so much Outrage and Violence Known
 " after any Other Success ? *L. Sulla* who had some
 " pretence as a Victor to Do whatever He thought
 " fit, at the same time that He knew that *† Sulpici-*
 " *us* was strengthening the Side of his Enemies against
 " him, Put but a * Few Persons to Death ; Chusing
 " to make the Residue his Friends rather by Kindnes-

* By the Law of Plautius. a Tribune of the People, who was there-
 in assisted by Catulus, 'tis said that Judges were to be Chosen from out
 of Every Tribe of the Commonalty ; And that Sylla Transferr'd and
 Restraine'd this to the Senate ; but that by the Law of Aurelius Cotta
 the Prætor, brought in by Pompey's Consent, the Matter was divi-
 ded among the Senators, the Order of Knights, and the Popular Tri-
 bunes.

† For the Understanding of this see Velleius Paterculus's History,
 Lib. 2.

* This was before his Expedition against Mithridates, but after-
 wards None was more Cruel than Sylla

“ ses than from Motives of Fear. Whereas Now,
“ † By the Cruelty of *Cato*, *L. Domitius*, and the
“ Others of that Faction We have Forty Senators
“ with many Young Gentlemen of great Expectation
“ slaughter’d like Victims. In the mean time These
“ most Implacable of Mankind are not yet satisfy’d
“ with the Blood of so Many Miserable Citizens ;
“ And neither the Cries of Fatherless Children, the
“ Case of Parents stooping with Age, the Groans of
“ Men, nor the Wailings of Women have been able
“ to Work upon their Barbarous Minds. But they
“ grow daily Fiercer and Fiercer, Rail at, Abuse, and
“ Oppress Any Body ; Strip Some of their Dignity
“ and Offices, and utterly Expel Others from their
“ Country. Need I to say any thing of Your self,
“ whose Fall the Rascals wou’d gladly Purchase at
“ the Price almost of their own Lives ? Who are
“ not so much pleas’d with their Power (tho’ it came
“ so Unexpectedly to them) as Mortify’d and Di-
“ sturb’d at Your Grandeur : And in Fine, who wou’d
“ rather Hazard the Loss of their own Liberty by
“ Your Destruction, than to have the *Roman* Empire
“ of Great to be made by You the Greatest in the
“ World. In Regard of which it’s the more Ne-
“ cessary that You Cast about, Sir, In what manner
“ to Establish Our Affairs on the Surest Foundation.
“ As for My self, I shall lay before You my Senti-
“ ments of the Case with the utmost Frankness :
“ But it must be Submitted to Your Judgment to Ap-
“ prove and Pursue what You think Fittest. I Con-
“ ceive then, That Our Republick, according to the
“ Notion I have had of it from my Forefathers, may
“ properly be Divided into Two Parts, *The Nobility*,

† Instead of [Cum Catone, &c.] as the common Editions have it,
it shou’d, I conceive, be [à Catone, &c.]

“ and the Commons. The Supreme Authority was at
“ first in the Former ; but the Latter , as more Nu-
“ merous , was the Stronger. Which therefore
“ frequently gave Occasion to Secessions of the
“ Populace for Asserting their Privileges. The
“ Constant Result of which was, That the Power
“ of the Fathers suffer’d Diminution, and That of
“ the Others Acquir’d Increase. But the Great
“ Point of the People’s Liberty Lay in This, That
“ there was No Person , how Potent soever, Above
“ the Laws. A Nobleman Show’d above a Commo-
“ ner, Not by Riches, or a Haughtiness of Behavi-
“ our , but by Actions of Gallantry, and a great
“ Reputation. The Meanest Engag’d in Husbandry
“ or Arms wanted Nothing that was Necessary or
“ Convenient , but was Sufficient for Himself, and
“ for the Service of his Country. But after having
“ Suffer’d Themselves to be Stripp’d of their [†] Lands
“ by little and little, and coming through Poverty
“ and their Own Slothfulness to be at a Loss for
“ Home or Habitation They Began to Covet the
“ Properties of Others , and to set their Liberties
“ and the Publick to Sale. By which Means , the
“ People, that Once was Lord of Nations and Con-
“ queror of the World, by Degrees Dwindled to al-
“ most Nothing ; And instead of Empire, Common
“ to ‘em All , Every Individual Person Procur’d a
“ Saddle for his own Back. Now a Multitude so
“ Corrupted as This, and not only so but Distribu-
“ ted into Different Trades and Manners of Living,
“ without the least Union among Them , seem to
“ Me to be very Unfit, of Themselves, to be Trusted

† See the Mischief of not keeping up to the Agrarian Laws ; for want of which a Few Great Ones Aggrandiz’d Themselves yet more, by Getting all the Lands that they cou’d , and Destroying the Balance of Property in the State.

“ with

" with the Commonwealth. But by Adding New
 " Citizens to Them I have great Hopes They will
 " All Rouze with one and the same Ardour for
 " Liberty ; And 'tis likely the Old will Appear as
 " Zealous for Throwing off the Yoke that's upon
 " 'em, as the Latter for Holding the Liberty that
 " They Bring with 'em. This Intermingled Body
 " of Citizens I Conceive it Advisable to Settle in
 " the Colonies. By which means both the Repub-
 " lick will never want Soldiers for the Wars, and the
 " People Employ'd in Honest Occupations will
 " have no Opportunity to Disturb the Government.
 " I am not so Ignorant as not to Foresee what a
 " Tempest of Rage and Madness the Putting of
 " This Project in Execution will certainly Raise
 " among Our Nobility ; Who will Clamour and
 " Storm at it Under Pretence that every Thing is
 " Turn'd Topsy Turvy ; That it is at Bottom a
 " Mighty Hardship and Slavery Impos'd on the An-
 " cient Members ; and in Fine, That the Empire
 " from a Free State will be Turn'd into a Sort of
 " Monarchy ; In as much as such a Body of Men is
 " Naturaliz'd into *Roman* Citizens by the Act and
 " Donation of *One Person*. Now, for *my* part, I look
 " upon Him, who Endeavours to Ingratiate *Himself*
 " with a Party to the Detriment of the Republick
 " in the Interim, to be all the while an Enemy to
 " *Himself*. And where the Advantage of the Whole
 " happens to Square even with That of Each Indi-
 " vidual, In such a Case to make any Scruple about
 " Promoting it must be Dastardly and Mean. 'Twas
 " the Great Aim of *M. * Livius Drusus* during all
 " the Time of his Tribuneship to Advance the In-
 " terest of the Nobility : Nor was it his Real Desire

* See *Velleius Paterculus's History*, Lib. 2.

“ at the first to have any Thing Done but by *Their*
“ Authority. But *They*, who were Factious, and
“ more us’d to Deceit and Oppression than to Ho-
“ nest Designs, Finding that a Benefit so Diffusive
“ was like to be Owing to *One Man*, and being
“ Each of ‘em Conscious to himself that his own
“ Ends were Evil and Sinister, Took a Measure of
“ *Drusus* by Themselves: And Fearing the Credit
“ and Influence He wou’d Gain might Enable him
“ to make himself Master of the State, Oppos’d
“ him, and thereby Baffled his Measures, but with-
“ all Embarass’d their own Cause by it. This
“ shou’d Excite You, Sir, to Provide Your Self
“ Faithful Friends, and a Good Strength. ‘Tis not
“ so Difficult for a Man of Courage to Deal with
“ an Enemy that Attacks him Openly: But the
“ Brave have as little Thought about Guarding
“ against a Treacherous Design, as Contriving
“ one. Forasmuch then as upon Introducing these
“ New Members into the City the Present Com-
“ monalty are to be Restor’d, Make it Your Great
“ Business to Establish Sobriety and Laudable Man-
“ ners among Them; And be sure likewise to Or-
“ der it so, That both Old and New may be Last-
“ ingly United. But the Greatest Thing of All
“ that You can Do for the Publick, Your Country-
“ men, Your self, Your Posterity, and, to Sum
“ up the Whole, for Mankind will be to Root out
“ the Desire of Money, or at least to Abate it as
“ much as possible. Without such a Reform as This
“ No Affairs either Publick or Private, or at Home
“ or Abroad will Go Right. For where Riches are
“ had in Admiration, No Principles, No Instituti-
“ ons, No Disposition can hold out; but the Soul at
“ last, or sooner or later, will Yield and Surrender
“ up to the Allurement. I have often heard of Prin-
“ ces and States, that by having too great a Respect

“ to

“ to Wealth, have brought to Destruction Powerful
“ Empires, which before They had Rear’d by Po-
“ verty and Virtue. Nor ought Any to Wonder at
“ the Matter. For when a Man of Merit Observes
“ that a Rascal shall Gain himself Reputation, and
“ have Every body Caress him for his Pelf, He is,
“ at first, in a mighty Rage, and his Spirit Works
“ and Labours with Resentments ; but the Pleasing
“ Bait of Riches and Honours Finding way by De-
“ grees into his Mind, His Virtue melts before the
“ Temptation, and he Sinks down into the Com-
“ mon Corruption. For the *Life* of Gallant Actions
“ is *Glory* ; and if You take away *That* Incentive,
“ Virtue will be but a Burdensome Thing. In a
“ Word, Whereever Money is the Idol, Faith, Ho-
“ nour, Integrity, Moderation, and Every Thing
“ Praise-worthy is Despis’d. For there is but One,
“ and a Rugged, Way whereby to Arrive at True
“ Glory ; But to Wealth a Thousand, at the Choice
“ of its Seekers : And the Latter is often Easier Ac-
“ quir’d by Ill and Corrupt Practices than by Good.
“ Be sure then in the first place to Destroy the Au-
“ thority and Credit of Money. No Body will be
“ Look’d upon more or less with Regard to what
“ Riches he is Master of, if neither Prætor nor Con-
“ sul for the future be made for his Wealth, but his
“ Real Dignity. But as to the Busines of Establis-
“ ing the Magistracy, Suffer the Suffrages of the
“ People to Determine it. For † Judges to
“ be made by a *Few* is like Monarchy ; and
“ to Chuse ‘em because of Their Money is
“ Scandalous. I wou’d therefore have All of the

† By Judges here, I wou’d understand the Privilege of Debating, and perhaps Concurring in the Making of Ordinances relating to the Government ; Like Common-Council-Men in some Constitutions.

" First + Class Capacitated to be of the Common
 " Council ; Of Whom yet let the Number be En-
 " larg'd. I do not find that the People of *Rhodes*,
 " or other Cities ever Repented of their Method
 " of Managing These Matters ; Among whom
 " both the Rich and the Poor , as They came into
 " Court, Sate promiscuously , and Debated alike of
 " All Affairs , as well the most Important as the
 " Slightest. But in this Point of Creation of Ma-
 " gistrates , I don't think 'twas an Ill Law which C.
 " *Gracchus* Got Enacted in his Tribuneship , That
 " the * Centuries Qualify'd to Vote shou'd be Cho-
 " sen by Lots from out of the Five Classes Thrown
 " together into One Body. Whereby being All E-
 " quall'd in Dignity , without any Difference in
 " regard of Riches, They will Every One have an
 " Emulation to *Distinguish* Himself by Services to
 " the Publick. They are Remedies very Obvious and
 " Easy that I offer against the Mischiefs of Money.
 " And Things Derive their Recommendation and
 " Value from that Use which They are of. Wick-
 " edness is Committed from a Prospect of Gain by
 " it. Take away That, and who will be so Base as
 " to Act the Part of a Villain for Nothing ? But let
 " Loose but Avarice upon Us , 'Tis a Ravenous
 " Beast , 'Tis Insatiable , Intolerable : Houses and
 " Temples, Cities and Countries are Laid waste by
 " it whereeyer it Comes ; It Confounds all Things,

+ A Class was a Certain Number of Citizens reduc'd into a Body
 upon a sort of Poll made by the Censors. Servius Tullius Distributed
 the People into Five Classes ; the first whereof, as the Richest, was most
 Powerful.

* Servius likewise Subdivided the Classes into Centuries ; but al-
 low'd the First Class the Prerogative of Voting first , as being the
 Wealthiest ; Whereby it often found means to Engross the whole Busi-
 ness to it self, Exclusive of the Rest : To Remedy which, this Law of
 C. *Gracchus* was made.

" both

“ both Human and Divine ; Makes its Way into
“ Garrisons and Armies ; In short, Betrays Integrity,
“ Modesty, Children, Parents, Government and
“ Every Thing. But once Ruin the Reputation of
“ Money, and the Fury of Avarice will quickly
“ Give way to the Superior Power of Honour and
“ Virtue. Now tho’ All, whether Enemies or Friends,
“ are very sensible of the Truth of This, You must
“ notwithstanding Expect to Meet with a great Op-
“ position from the Faction of the Nobles : (Whose
“ Intrigues if You Guard Your self but against, the
“ Rest will be All Carpet Way for You.) For if
“ They were Men who had any thing of Worth in
“ ’em, They wou’d rather Endeavour to Outdo,
“ than Pursue with Envy Such as have Virtue. But
“ Sloth and Idleness having wholly possess’d ’em, They
“ are Mad at the Brave Performances of Others, Fol-
“ low Them with Detraction, and Look upon Their
“ Fame as a Thing that Flashes Disgrace upon Them-
“ selves. But what need I say any thing more of ’em,
“ as tho’ They were not very well Known ? The
“ Wonderful Courage and Vivacity of * *M. Bibulus* !
“ Did it not Break forth into a Consulship ? A Crea-
“ ture that can hardly Utter a Word ; Yet Knave E-
“ nough, tho’ without any Cunning. What can
“ such a Person pretend to, to Whom the Greatest
“ of Dignities, the Consulate, is in reality the Great-
“ est Disgrace ? Is † *L. Domitius* of any Signification,
“ whose every Member is Polluted with Villany ?
“ An Insolent Tongue, Bloody Hands, Run-away
“ Feet, and in Fine, an Immersion in Vices that scarce
“ can be mention’d with Decency. *Cato*’s the Only
“ Person among ’em, who, I think, has a Spirit not

* *He, I suppose, who was Colleague of Cæsar.*

† *L. Domitius Aenobarbus, who had been Consul some Years before.*

“ to

" to be Despis'd : A Crafty, Talkative, * Double-
 " dealing Wit ; For which he's indebted to the † Græ-
 " cian Learning. But Industry, Vigilance, Gallan-
 " try or Virtue are not to be met with among the
 " Greeks. Can You think the *Roman Empire* Main-
 " tainable by the Empty Precepts Furnish'd by Such
 " as have Lost their Own Liberty by their Sloth ? As
 " for All the Rest of the Party , They are Only a
 " Company of Noble Drones : Who, like so many
 " Statues, have Nothing else but such or such a Name
 " to Distinguish Them. * *L. Posthumius*, and † *M.*
 " *Favonius* seem to Resemble the Superfluous Lading
 " of a great Fly-Boat : If the Voyage happens to
 " be Smooth without any Ruffle All is well : But in
 " Case of a Storm 'tis the first Goods that are thrown
 " Overboard, as of least Value. Having said as much
 " as appears Convenient about the Reforming and
 " Settling of the Commonalty , I will now proceed
 " to the Consideration of what is to be Done in re-
 " lation to the Senate. After my being Grown up
 " to some Maturity of Years and Understanding,
 " perceiving my Genius not to Incline so much to
 " the Business of Arms or Horses, I Turn'd my Mind
 " to Learning and Study , without Excluding Exer-
 " cise for my Body. And after a great deal of Time
 " Spent in Conversing both with Books and with
 " Men I found that All Empires and Nations stood
 " Firm and Flourish'd so long as Their Councils
 " Continu'd Vigorous and Sound : But that, when

* Our Author might have spar'd this Reflection upon Cato, being the
 same Person of whom he has given so Glorious a Character in Catiline's
 Conspiracy.

† Greece, if it were but for the sake of Thucidides, might have
 had better Quarter from our Author.

* Of *L. Posthumius*, or his Character, there is little left us.
 † For Favonius, See Cæsar, Dio, and Plutarch.

" These

“These became Languid and Corrupted through
“Cowardice, Favour, or Debauchery, The Go-
“vernment (first) Decay’d in its Strength, In the
“next place Lost its Dominion, and at last Sunk
“into perfect Slavery. Now I Think That Such
“Persons in a State as Enjoy most Authority and
“Honour, and make a greater Figure than the Rest
“ought to have a greater Care for its Welfare. For
“Others, who have only *Liberty* by its Standing, can
“consequently Lose no more by its Fall: But They
“who have Rais’d Themselves to Preferments and
“good Estates by Their Services for the Publick,
“must needs, in Case of its Tottering or Declensi-
“on, be Seiz’d with a Thousand Agonies of Mind:
“Running about This way and That to Preserve Their
“Glory, Their Riches, or Their Liberty; and the
“more They Flourish’d while in Prosperity, the
“more Distracted and Impatient in Calamities.
“Wherefore in a Government where the Commo-
“nalty has Respect to a Senate, as a Body to its
“Head, and the Latter is to Propose Counsels for
“the Other only to Put in Execution, the Fathers
“must always have Able Heads, but the People’s
“Sagacity will be little wanted. It was upon This
“Foot that Our Ancestors, even when They were
“press’d by the Powerfullest Armies, and had Lost
“Their Men, Horses, and Money, Never De-
“spended or Gave out, but Remain’d Firm in the
“Defence of Their Empire. No Force of Enemies
“whatsoever, No Frowns of an Adverse Fortune,
“Nor an Empty Treasury were Able to Discomfit
“’em; but the Acquisitions They had made by their
“Bravery They Maintain’d to the last Drop of
“Their Blood. But Their Success in’t was more
“Owing to Vigorous Counsels than to Fortunate
“Battels. With *Them* the Publick was One and Entire,
“for the Welfare of which *Alone* They Consulted:

“As

“ As for Faction, there was no such Thing, Unless
“ it was to Combine against Their Enemies ; But
“ Every One Exerted Himself, both Body and
“ Mind, for the Interest of his Country, and not for
“ the Aggrandizing Himself. Whereas Now it is
“ quite otherwise ; and a Few Noblemen possess’d
“ by Sloth, Strangers to Fatigue, Industry or Arms,
“ but Become Strong by Factions at Home proudly
“ Lord it over All the World. So that the Fathers,
“ by whose Advices the Commonwealth, whenever
“ it Totter’d, us’d formerly to be kept up, being
“ brought into a State of Subjection Are Driven
“ Fluctuating This way and That ; Are sometimes
“ for One Thing, and anon for Another : And find
“ Themselves Oblig’d to Pronounce Every Thing
“ Good or Bad for the Publick, as the Animosities
“ and Arrogant Spirit of These Their Tyrannical
“ Masters will have it. But were the Actings of All
“ Free, and Their Suffrages Given with more Secre-
“ sy, the Faction of the Nobles wou’d be less pre-
“ vailing, and the Republick in Proportion more
“ Flourishing. But since We cannot Expect to have
“ the Authority of All in the House Equal, because
“ of the Advantages of Quality, Reputation, and
“ Numerous Tenants that many of the Great Ones
“ have had the Luck to Derive from Their Ancestors ;
“ while the Rest, for the greater Part of ’em, are
“ not Capable to make much Figure, by All means
“ Order it so, that no Body may be under any *Awe*
“ in Voting. That may be Effected by Doing it *pri-*
“ *vately* ; Wherein Every One will be Nearer to his
“ Own and the Publick Interest than Another’s.
“ All Men, as well the Evil as the Good, the Base as
“ the Gallant are Desirous of Liberty. But the most
“ part, Sottish and Dastardly, Abandon the Cause
“ through Scandalous Cowardice ; And Receive,
“ like so many Vanquish’d Slaves, That *Yoke of*
“ *Servi-*

“ Servitude Tamely on Their Necks , which They
“ might have a Fair Chance upon Contending it of
“ Imposing , perhaps , on Their Proud Adversaries .
“ Now there are , I Conceive , Two Things that
“ wou’d Put the Senate on a good Footing ; *The En-*
“ *larging Their Number* ; and *Voting by the * Tablet* .
“ By the Latter Every Man’s Suffrage wou’d Re-
“ main Conceal’d , and so He wou’d be Free in’t :
“ And by Adding of Members , the Body wou’d be
“ Stronger , and there wou’d be More to Serve the
“ Republick . For now-a-days it happens that Most
“ being either Engag’d in the Courts of Judicature ,
“ or the Private Affairs of Themselves or Friends
“ Neglect Attending the Business of the Publick ;
“ Tho’ perhaps the Non-Appearance of Many is not
“ at bottom so much Owing to other Occupations
“ as Their not being Able to Brook the Arbitrary
“ Proceedings of a Party . For a Handful of Noble-
“ men with a few Senators , Retainers to the Facti-
“ on , and Creatures of the Great Ones , take upon
“ ’em to Approve and Condemn , to Decree and
“ Manage Every Thing as They please . But when
“ the Number of Senators is Augmented , and All
“ are to Give Their Votes by the Tablet , Our
“ Grandees will Down with Their Haughtiness ,
“ Finding They must Cringe to Those , whom be-

* The Romans did not always Observe the same Way of Voting . That by the Tablet was in this manner : Every Senator had Two little Tables deliver’d to him ; Upon One were these Two Letters [U.R.] i.e. Ut Rogatis , Let it be as you desire : And upon the other a great Roman [A] for Antiquo , or , I Disapprove it . They who were for the Law propos’d Threw into a little Chest the First Tablet ; and They who Dislik’d it , the Latter . And upon Numbring the whole the Difference was set down in another Void Table by Pricks or Dots . By which means it cou’d not be known Who Voted for Who : Like Ballotting among the Moderns .

" fore They Domineer'd so Tyrannically over.
 " Perhaps, Sir, Upon Reading of my Letter You
 " will Call upon Me to mention the Number I wou'd
 " have This New-Modell'd Senate Consist of ; And
 " into what Parts or Committees, and for what Pur-
 " poses They will best be Distributed : How I wou'd
 " have the Privilege of Debating in Those of the
 " † First Classis dispos'd of ; And how many Persons
 " of All Orders to be Let into it ; with the Method
 " of Division for 'em. Of All This it wou'd not be
 " Difficult to Draw up a particular Scheme : But I
 " wou'd first Propose the Project in General , and
 " have it Approv'd by You for a Good One. If You
 " Embrace my Measures on the Main, 'Twill be Easy
 " Enough to Agree the Plan. I wou'd willingly
 " have All the Advices I have any Concern in to be
 " Wholsome and Fortunate ; For my own Reputati-
 " on is like to Rise in proportion to That Succes
 " which They bring You. But be That as it will,
 " My Desire is That You will take Care of the
 " Commonwealth with the utmost Speed , be it
 " which way You please. *Liberty* is a Thing that's
 " Dearer to *Me* than all the Private Glory in the
 " World : And I beg of You, most Illustrious Gene-
 " ral, and Earnestly Conjure You, That You will
 " not, after having Subdu'd the *Gaulish* Nation, Suf-
 " fer the Mighty and Unconquer'd Empire of the
 " People of *Rome* to Perish by Age, or Fall to pie-
 " ces through Faction and Dissentions. Shou'd such
 " a Calamity as *That* happen , You wou'd not have
 " Peace either Day or Night ; but Your Soul wou'd
 " be Haunted Waking and Sleeping, and a Restless
 " Fury wou'd Continually Hurry it. For it is with

† As to what was afterwards done in This and other Matters by Au-
 gustus, See Dio, Lib. 55, &c.

“ Me an Undoubted Truth, † That the Affairs of All
“ Mankind are under the Eye of a Divine Provi-
“ dence: And that there are no Actions whatsoever,
“ Evil or Good Ones, that will Pass Unnotic'd ;
“ but that according to Their Different Nature They
“ will have a Retribution as Different. And tho'
“ perhaps it may be Late e're it Comes, Yet in the
“ Interim Every Man's Hopes and Quiet Depend on
“ the Clearness of his Conscience. Were but Now
“ Your Country and Ancestors to Bespeak You,
“ They wou'd do it in this manner: We, O Cæsar,
“ the Gallantest of Men Begat *Thee* in the Noblest
“ of Cities, To be a Defence and an Ornament to
“ *Us*, and at the same time a Terror to *our Enemies*.
“ What *We* with Fatigues and Toils, and Infinite Ha-
“ zards had Acquir'd to Our selves, That We Deli-
“ ver'd over to *Thee*, together with thy Life, as soon
“ as Thou waft Born to *Us*: A Country, the most
“ Powerful upon Earth; A Descent, the most Illu-
“ strious in *That*; An Education, and Qualities for
“ a Hero; With an Honourable Share of the Pos-
“ sessions of Fortune; In a Word, All the Felicities
“ of Peace, and the most Glorious Triumphs of War.
“ For These Benefits so Great and Engaging We
“ don't Expect from Thee Tyranny or Lewdness,
“ but the Restitution of Expiring Liberty. Give Us
“ but That, and the Fame of thy Virtue will Fly
“ through All the Habitable World. For tho' You
“ have both at Home and Abroad Perform'd At-
“ chievements Bold and Heroick, Yet Those do but
“ Equal Your Glory with That of other Persons of
“ Prowess; Whereas, if You Restore a State, the
“ most Celebrated that the Universe knows in point

† This Hint might probably proceed from our Author's Believing Cæ-
sar to be Addicted to the Sect of Epicurus.

“ of

" of Dignity and Extent of Empire, from the Brink
 " of Ruin upon which it stands ; There is None
 " will Come up to Your Reputation ; There is None
 " that will Shine like You upon Earth. For if the
 " Disease or the Fate of Our Empire be such that it
 " must not longer Subsist, Who is there Sees not
 " that the whole Globe will be Fill'd with Wars, and
 " Blood, and Desolation ? But if possess'd with a
 " Generous Ambition You shall Answer the Instan-
 " ces of Your Parents and Country, The Glory of
 " Restoring the *Roman* Republick will be Handed
 " down to Latest Posterity with a *Distinction* from
 " *That* of the Rest of Mortals ; And Your very Death
 " will be Follow'd with more Lustre than Attends
 " even a Life. For the Living are sometimes
 " Clouded by Fortune, and more frequently Lessen'd
 " by Envy ; But when Death has remov'd 'em from
 " its Sight, the Mouth of Detraction is soon stopp'd,
 " and the Mèrit of Virtue Raises it self, and Appears
 " more Illustrious than ever. Thus in the shortest
 " Compass I Cou'd Have I set before You Those
 " Things that I Thought Useful for the State and
 " Your self; and whatever the Measures are You
 " shall take, I Beseech th' Immortal Gods to Succeed
 " 'em for the Good of the Publick, and Your Own
 " Glory.



FINIS.

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